

Approaches to the Soviet-UN Crisis

Debate on the "Little Assembly" proposal of the United States opened on October 14 at Lake Success with Soviet representative Andrei A. Vishinsky assailing the American initiative as a "farce" and an attempt to get around the Security Council. In his opening address, U.S. spokesman John Foster Dulles asked the Assembly to set up an interim committee, composed of all the Members of the United Nations, which would assist the Assembly in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and which would function after the General Assembly itself had adjourned. Mr. Dulles emphasized that this committee was to respect fully the primary responsibility of the Security Council. Its purpose would be to enable the Assembly to perform more efficiently its duties in the maintenance of international peace. This effort to develop the constitutional powers that the Assembly already possesses is a reminder that, despite what the USSR delegates like to imply, the United Nations is not synonymous with the Security Council and that the General Assembly, too, has its legitimate role to play. The U.S. move met with hesitant response from the other delegates, who are filled with deep anxiety over Soviet aggressive tactics at the present session. It was perhaps for their benefit that Winston Churchill, speaking by transcription to the third annual dinner of the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation on the same evening, stated that he cannot believe that the violent aggressive line of the Soviets is "a prelude to war." Even the worst that could be feared for the United Nations, namely a withdrawal by the USSR, should not make anyone "unduly depressed." "Certainly," he said, "we ought not to give away anything which is essential to our security [and, one might add, essential to our moral integrity] in order to persuade them to linger with us for the purpose of paralyzing the joint harmonious action of three-quarters of mankind." Both the new U.S. proposal and the comments of the former British Prime Minister are welcome contributions to the solution of the key question of international politics today.

Mr. Bullitt's views on China

Last July William C. Bullitt was sent by *Life* magazine to investigate China's internal conditions and to find out what this country can do to help. A fortnight ago (*Life*, October 13, 1947), the former U. S. Ambassador to Russia presented his very thorough findings about our Far-Eastern ally. He regards the present internal strife in China as a life-and-death struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet-supported Chinese Communists employ guerilla tactics, their main objective being not the destruction of the government forces, but the gradual wrecking of the country's economic life. In Manchuria, government forces are opposed

by equally numerically-strong communist armies. While the latter use modern war equipment, evidently supplied by Russia, Mr. Bullitt finds the national forces poorly armed. In fact, behind their gallant appearance there is little left of the strength they once had under American command in wartime. If Manchuria falls into communist hands, a course of events fatal to Chinese independence will follow. Mr. Bullitt contends that the Communists can now be driven out of the country only by force of arms, and that the United States is the only country capable of helping. President Truman should act at once, says the report, as President Roosevelt acted after Dunkirk, when the British and French were desperately short of ammunition. By acting promptly, the United States could finish this war indirectly by helping to boost China's general economy. Mr. Bullitt estimates that with \$250 million a year—only a tiny fraction of what is needed for Europe—China could stand on its own feet. Finally, the report suggests that President Truman send General MacArthur to China to organize with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek a joint plan to prevent the subjugation of China by Soviet Russia. If immediate steps to help China are not taken, the country will fall into Stalin's hands. If that happens, all Asia, including Japan, sooner or later will fall under the hammer and sickle. The independence of the U. S., writes Mr. Bullitt, "will not live a generation longer than the independence of China."

Chile breaks with Yugoslavia

The Western Hemisphere felt the first repercussions of renewed Comintern activities when two Yugoslav diplomats, accused of abetting the communist campaign against the United States, were expelled from the capital of Chile, Santiago. The Chilean Government acted promptly on what it considered a crime against the Americas. It charged that Andrej Cunja, Yugoslav Chargé d'affaires, and Dalibor Jakasa, former Legation secretary in Buenos Aires, were engaging in communist activities detrimental to hemispheric security. The Santiago authorities indicated their belief that the Yugoslav activities are linked directly to the new Comintern headquarters in Belgrade. Subversive Soviet ramifications are detailed in the long document which, among other things, states that the Chilean Government has incontestable proof of the existence of an international plot. The groundwork for this plot was reportedly laid when Yugoslav General Ljubomir Ilitch came to Chile last year to attend the Presidential inauguration as Marshal Tito's representative. The main purposes of the revolutionary plan to which this evidence points are as follows: 1) to coordinate and intensify the campaign against the United States in order to bring large portions of democratic elements under Soviet influence; 2) to attack directly

the continental defense policy approved at Rio; 3) to organize the sabotage of essential industries throughout Latin-American countries by strikes and slowdowns. By expelling the Yugoslav agents, the Santiago Government indicates that it breaks its diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. Following the Chilean action the Argentine Government promptly began a study of the case of the two Yugoslav agents. There are over 70,000 persons of Yugoslav ancestry in Argentina, whom foreign agents have been trying to win, along with other Slavic groups, to the Pan-Slavic movement, which bears the Politburo stamp of approval. The feeling is growing in Argentina that communism should be banned and Soviet agents expelled by virtue of the Act of Chapultepec, which defined security measures for the Western Hemisphere.

Why we must stay in Berlin

Lt. General Clarence R. Huebner, who is acting military governor of the U. S. zone in Germany while his superior, Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, and Clay's adviser, Ambassador Robert Murphy, are in Washington for consultation, has denied that there are any plans to withdraw American military government forces from Berlin, now or in the foreseeable future. For Berliners, the possibility of an American retreat from the former German capital has been a nightmare, and recent rumors along these lines spread panic among them. Whether or not the November Council of Foreign Ministers produces some solution to the German impasse, it is quite clear that, to get the American representation out of Berlin, the Russians will have to use force, and take the consequences thereof. No doubt the idea of transferring military government headquarters from Berlin to Frankfurt appeals to those OMGUS division chiefs who cannot see why they must sit in the former *Luftwaffe* buildings in Berlin's Zehlendorf, so far removed from the scene of operations down in the south, especially now that Frankfurt-on-Main has become the seat of the Bi-zonal Economic Council. It may be confidently predicted that neither the growing importance of Frankfurt nor the deadlock in the Allied Control Authority nor the isolation of the 12,000 Americans and their families now working with OMGUS in the heart of the Soviet zone, is going to induce the U. S. Government to abandon, least of all now, the most strategic political and geographic position *vis-à-vis* the USSR which it now possesses. As Bishop Aloisius J. Muench, Apostolic Visitor to Germany, told *NC News Service* last week, thinking Germans want the American troops to remain in Germany indefinitely. Although we

never intended it to be so, the rise or fall of our prestige is tied in with our remaining in Berlin.

From Boston to San Francisco

From Boston, in the course of his keynote address to the ninth annual convention of the CIO, Philip Murray invited the AFL to join with the Railroad Brotherhoods and the CIO in a joint political drive for the 1948 elections. From San Francisco, where the AFL was entering the second week of its annual convention, William Green promptly answered no. Before there can be joint political activity, he said, we must have "organic unity." And so the two conventions went their separate ways, with orators warning the delegates that the Taft-Hartley Act is a dagger pointed at the heart of organized labor and that something drastic must be done about it. The speakers were even agreed on what had to be done: organized labor had to marshal its full political strength to defeat the Congressmen who forged the fetters now binding the workers of America. But join together, close the wound festering now for ten years, forget the dreary past and, in the face of imminent danger, present a single breast to the foe? Perish the thought. "Unity of political action first," says Phil Murray at Boston. "Not so," replies Bill Green from the opposite coast. "Organic unity first, my friends, or nothing at all." And so it will be nothing at all, unless leaders on the local and State level, moved more by common sense than points of prestige and considerations of labor politics, succeed in working out informal alliances. Anyhow, united or not, organized labor will be a factor in the 1948 campaign as it has never been before; which is a disconcerting commentary on a law designed, among other things, to take labor unions out of politics.

CIO still bedeviled

In at least one important respect the CIO meeting at Boston was a retake of last-year's convention at Atlantic City. A strong group of democratic leaders wanted to drag the communist question into the open and settle it once and for all; but, as happened last year, President Murray dealt with the explosive issue in the executive board meeting preceding the convention and succeeded in winning a compromise. For a moment it appeared, following Secretary of State Marshall's splendid address to the convention, that the *bona fide* trade unionists among the delegates might kick over the traces and reject the vague resolution previously agreed on by the Executive Board; but Mr. Murray saved the day for peace by interpreting the statement in a sense clearly favorable to the anti-communist majority, and sharply assailed Soviet charges of war-mongering. This left the pro-Communists free to put their own construction on the resolution, which Irving Potash of the Fur Workers and Joseph Kehoe of the American Communications Association promptly proceeded to do, as was to be expected. While all this was going on in Boston, President Joseph Curran was winning the fight of his life against the Communists entrenched in the National Maritime Union; and all up and down the land, delegates to the UAW

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convention were being elected and the anti-Communist forces of President Walter Reuther were in the lead. The sweetness and light in the CIO were strictly confined last week to Boston.

Archbishop Cushing to the CIO

"Our Saviour appeared to the eyes of men as a tradesman, a worker," Boston's beloved Archbishop, Richard J. Cushing, told the CIO convention, "and all who share His priestly office should be found present wherever men are gathered who share in labor." Praising the close relationship which has always existed between workers and the Church in the United States, he remarked that "in all the American Hierarchy, resident in the U.S., there is not known to me any Bishop, Archbishop or Cardinal whose father or mother was a college graduate." Strongly endorsing American foreign policy, the Archbishop pleaded with the delegates to put "our resources—food, money, coal, clothing, friendship and faith—behind the democratic, the human war on hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement and fear in the war-breeding areas of the world." By the time the Archbishop finished, there could be no doubt in the minds of the delegates that the CIO had been welcomed to Boston not only with friendly warmth but with salutary counsel.

On making a splash

One of the social ills of our time, as the Popes have not wearied in saying, is the vast inequality that yawns between the wealthy and the poor. If this is true of industrial society in normal times, what can we say of today, when millions in the world who might otherwise be fairly prosperous, are destitute, homeless, hungry? With them in mind, it comes as a shock to read the account of the lavish wedding, in Madrid, of the Duke of Alba's daughter. Although goodly sums were expended for relief of the poor, family jewels worth a million and a half adorned the bride; the whole affair was on a scale of extravagance even higher than the same young lady's debut five years ago, when the sumptuousness drew a rebuke from the Archbishop of Seville. It would seem that London will manifest better taste than Madrid, for the plans for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth are much more modest. Certainly the British Communists will not be given the ammunition their Spanish comrades have got through such ill-conceived ostentation. And, of course, Spain being traditionally Catholic, you know where the ammunition will be directed.

Rome election

If democrats the world over can find no great cause for rejoicing in the results of the municipal election in Rome on October 12, they have no good reason to be discouraged either. With all the votes tabulated in the Eternal City's 1,226 precincts, the People's Bloc—Communists, Left-Wing Socialists, Action Party, Democratic Labor Party—emerged in first place, as it did last November, but its margin this time was somewhat smaller. At least one shrewd observer of the Roman scene, Barrett McGurn of the New York *Herald Tribune*, inter-

preted the failure of the Communists to improve their position as "another in their recent series of setbacks," and so cabled to his paper. On the other hand, the Christian Democrats made a sensational recovery and polled 204,007 votes, only 4,319 behind the People's Bloc. Biggest loser was Guglielmo Giannini's Common Man Front, which finished second last November with 106,000 votes. This time it barely managed to pass the 60,000 mark. From a democratic standpoint, keenest disappointment of the election was the failure of some 300,000 registered voters to go to the polls. Very few of the absentees, you may be sure, were Communists.

Toward a new agricultural policy

In Washington, where national agricultural policy is actually made, hearings continue before both House and Senate committees on the subject of future agricultural policy. While there are broad areas of agreement, the differences of opinion are by no means minor. The most disputed question is bound to be how to shore up farm prices to reasonable levels when depression comes or a bumper crop drives prices down. The Administration has committed itself to a policy of agricultural plenty and minimum nutritional levels for everybody. The philosophy-of-abundance idea was impressed on Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson at the time of the Food and Agriculture Organization meeting in Quebec. World opinion clearly opposed restricted production as the means of maintaining price levels. Mr. Anderson has explained his views to the congressional committees on agriculture, stressing the desirability of buttressing purchasing power, even through food-coupon subsidies, as against acreage restrictions and crop quotas. The American Farm Bureau Federation, most powerful group in agriculture, disagrees. Its President, Edward A. O'Neal, told the Senate committee that his group opposes "any fixed policy of feeding surplus food to low-income groups," except as an emergency measure. There is definitely a difference here of attitude toward social planning. Despite the divergence on this point, neither side denies the need for some sort of agricultural price support. In fact, Mr. O'Neal seems prepared to admit that the present rigid system of supporting parity prices needs modification. Both he and Mr. Anderson rightly want to safeguard farmer prosperity. The question is how to do it without making the public a goat.

Austrian parley paralyzed

Five months of discussion and eighty-five meetings of the Austrian Treaty Commission have added up to a report to the Council of Foreign Ministers which, in the words of a United States delegate, "contains no resolution of any major issue." In a total of fifty treaty articles, fifteen vital articles remain at the exact stage of disagreement at which they were when the Commission began its meetings. Before the Moscow meeting of last year, it was thought that the Austrian treaty would be written with little difficulty; but since then Russia's intransigence has blocked every avenue and brought about the final collapse of the Commission. The central point of disagree-

ment has been the amount of German assets (and what in fact are German assets) in eastern Austria that the Russians are entitled to take under the Potsdam agreement. If the Russian claims were allowed, they would absorb about half of all the industry in eastern Austria, including two-thirds of the oil production, 75 per cent of the refining capacity, 75 per cent of the property of the Danubian Steamship Company, whole or part ownership of some 300 factories—and this is but part of the picture. It is little wonder that the British delegate on the Commission stated that Russia was seeking an “economic mastery in Austria” similar to that “which Germans had acquired for themselves by methods only too well known.” Despite this discouraging deadlock in Austria, reports from Berlin say that Russian officials there hold great hopes for the success of the coming London conference of the Foreign Ministers. One Russian authority is said to have declared that “facts are facts and both Molotov and Marshall and the other Ministers will make compromises.” The facts happen to be that Moscow is deliberately blocking Austria’s pledged independence and seeking her economic enslavement. If any compromise glosses over that fact, we will have none of it.

Tests of loyalty

It is doubtful that in his explorations for writing *The Roots of American Loyalty*, Merle Curti uncovered conditions comparable to those which brought Mr. Truman to publish, last March 22, his Presidential Executive Order “prescribing procedures for the administration of an employees’ loyalty program in the Executive Branch of the Government,” and which compelled the State Department to issue its policy directive of October 7, that “no person should be employed in the department who constitutes a security risk.” Both documents do more than hint at the existence at the present moment of an organized conspiracy against our Government in the service of a foreign power. In these circumstances, the unprecedented moves which the Government is making to safeguard the common good and to preserve our way of life are, we believe, necessary moves. They will, of course, be viewed by many with an exaggerated, not to say pharisaical, fear, as if they constituted a complete abrogation of civil liberties. It is nevertheless true that there is real danger of abuse of civil liberties unless the procedures outlined by the State Department are applied with scrupulous justice, or, as Hamilton Robinson, director of the State Department’s Office of Controls, promised, “with sound, objective judgment by reasonable men.” What this review said editorially upon issuance of President Truman’s March 22 Order (AMERICA, April 5, 1947, p. 6), applies fully to the more recent State Department directive: 1) that the Government must avoid anything suggestive of a “witch hunt,” since this would play straight into the hands of the enemy, and 2) that it would be well for the Government to make public a list of suspect organizations, so as to enable them to clear themselves or get rid of disreputable members, or in any case so as to warn men of good will against giving their names and support to such organizations.

New lobby against Catholic schools

A September 18 release of *Religious News Service* announced that there would be an October 13 meeting in Washington of a Protestant organization calling itself (tentatively) the National Council of Citizens on Church and State. Formed last spring as an aftermath of the Supreme Court decision in the New Jersey bus case, the new Protestant lobby has as its sponsors Charles Clayton Morrison, former editor of the *Christian Century*; Methodist Bishop Oxnam; John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary; Episcopal Bishop Scarlett of St. Louis; Baptist Louie D. Newton. The meeting of October 13 came off on schedule. It is, of course, no secret that the purpose of this organization is to try to make sure that there will be no more Supreme Court decisions favoring Catholic children in Catholic schools, and to guarantee that children in Catholic schools will get none of the pennies or dollars which local, State and Federal agencies allocate to education. The National Council of Citizens on Church and State will attempt to organize Protestants into a gigantic rally against Catholic claims to elementary justice under our laws. And the rally will wave the flag of “separation of Church and State”—not the real “separation” of our Constitution, mind you, but the fictitious political catchword, with its overtones of religious, anti-Catholic bigotry. But what interests us most at the moment is the presence at the Washington meeting of Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association. It is said that Mr. Givens dodged the question of whether he was there “on his own” or as an official of the NEA. If the NEA is lining up with the National Council of Citizens on Church and State, it might be that quite a lot of the teachers belonging to the NEA will want to know why. And, incidentally, it would cool our curiosity a little to be told how an NEA partnership with the new Protestant lobby against Catholic schools would affect the rather close alliance which seems to exist between the NEA and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Our flag comes down

On May 6, 1942 American hearts the world over were heavy and bitter, as American hands hauled down the Stars and Stripes from over Corregidor, and burned it rather than allow it to be taken by the Japanese. Corregidor had fallen. It was, perhaps, the darkest day in the whole of the war with Japan. Last week, on October 12, anniversary of the discovery of the New World, American hands again hauled down the flag over “the Rock.” This time, though, the flag was not lowered in any gesture of defeat, but in a heart-stirring gesture of good faith between nations. “I will come back,” said MacArthur when his Commander-in-Chief ordered him from Bataan to Australia, the better to organize the fight. Come back he did, to drive the invaders from the Rock and the Philippines. And now, as the Stars and Stripes is replaced over Corregidor by the flag of the Philippine Republic, American hearts may be proud and glad that our country has kept faith with the gallant people who so bravely stood by us in our darkest hour.

Washington Front

As mid-October came to Washington, the views of four dozen Congressmen who for weeks had burrowed in the rubble-heaps of postwar European misery were becoming fairly well known: the U. S. should provide new aid to stop communism, but the check-rein must be tighter. The capital's unanswered riddle concerned the nearly 400 congressional stay-at-homes.

When Republican leaders gavelled Senate and House adjournment last July, everyone agreed that if the Marshall Plan were submitted to Congress then, it would be torn to shreds. Congress must have proof—this was the tune. So in succeeding weeks platoons of cross-questioning Congressmen spilled out all over Europe. In recent days just about every returning ship or plane was setting them back down on home shores and, while opinions marched off in all directions, much congressional thinking seemed to shake down about as follows:

For France, Italy and Austria, at least, there must be immediate aid as distinct from the higher trajectory Marshall Plan. Italy's case might be typical: she must have 220 tons of grain and 600 tons of coal monthly or she will bend toward Moscow. If the U. S. balks and there is little heat and little bread this winter—so some Congressmen believe—then the way will be open for the

Russians to duplicate the play made with hungry France two years ago and, with worldwide fanfare, send shiploads of wheat to Togliatti & Co.

Second, there must be a new government corporation to administer overseas aid. The effort is scattered now among numerous agencies. Congress criticizes and distrusts some of them. A new unit might get off to a better start on Capitol Hill.

Third, Congress will demand raw materials this nation needs as a *quid pro quo* for aid. Britain rejected this idea when the \$3.75 billion loan was negotiated. Today the \$22 billion of Marshall Plan aid sought represents the difference between what the asking countries say they can produce for export and what they must have to live. It may be argued they cannot produce such raw materials and still come within \$22 billion of their own total needs.

Then, from a long-range viewpoint, the details of the Marshall Plan must be evolved. At best it will be a slow, painful congressional process. With plans for aid, it is hoped, will come some formula for European currency control, believed particularly necessary if Europe's farmers are to be induced to market their produce. Today they hold back because they have no assurance that, if they sell today, the currency they get in return will not be devalued tomorrow.

With the John Tabers proclaiming they saw no hunger in Europe, the way will be hard. But one day there will be a Marshall Plan.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underseorings

A Northwest Regional Catholic Conference will be held at Portland, Oregon, October 27-30. It is sponsored jointly by the bishops, priests and people of the Archdiocese of Portland and the dioceses of Baker City, Ore.; Spokane and Seattle, Wash.; Boise, Idaho; and Helena and Great Falls, Mont. Msgr. Luigi Ligutti of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, NCWC personnel and prominent speakers from the Northwest will lead discussions on topics dealing with the reform of the social order and the renewal of the Christian spirit.

►The annual meeting of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society, in New York on October 22, featured a paper on "Church and State in the United States" by Father Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., editor of *Thought*. . . Marquette University's Aristotelian Society will sponsor two Aquinas lectures this year, the first by Etienne Gilson on October 26. His topic will be: "History of Philosophy and Philosophical Education."

►At the recently concluded ceremonies commemorating the centenary of St. Francis College, Loretto, Pa., Cardinal Spellman delivered the sermon at an outdoor solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop Richard T. Guilfoyle of Altoona. The college conferred honorary

degrees on Cardinal Spellman; James H. Duff, Governor of Pennsylvania; Pat O'Brien, head of the Catholic Screen Actors' Guild; Francis P. McKinney of Pittsburgh; George Zook, president of the American Council on Education; General Philip B. Fleming, and Most Rev. John H. Boccella, T.O.R., Minister General of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis.

►Curricular additions: Fordham University, which established a department of Communication Arts last year, with divisions in radio, theatre and cinema, has added a Publication Division offering ten courses for 1947-8. . . A "School of Theology for Laymen" has been started by the Dominican House of Studies at Catholic University. Two evening courses will be offered: "Companion to the Summa," on Tuesdays for fourteen weeks, and "Contemporary Philosophy," on Thursdays for five weeks. . . The University of Detroit introduced this fall its revised Engineering curriculum, which puts added emphasis on cultural subjects and the *profession* of Engineering as a balance for technological training. . . Notre Dame has a new course in Religion on the history of Christian doctrine and spirituality.

►During October every car on the Elevated Lines of Chicago carried a 17 x 28 inch artistic poster of the Sacred Heart, inscribed with Our Lord's promise; "I will bless every dwelling where an image of My Heart shall be exposed and honored." The cost of the display was borne by an individual donor.

A.P.F.

Editorials

Palestine and partition

To appreciate why partition was the practical solution which appealed to the UN Special Committee on Palestine, it helps to recall the alternatives.

The first would be to let things continue as they are, with the mandate in the hands of the British. Since the British themselves apparently despair of achieving harmony and seem unacceptable to both Jews and Arabs, no permanent solution can be looked for in that direction. Moreover, the possibility of transferring the mandate to another Power appears quite remote. Understandably, candidates for the job are lacking.

The second alternative would be a federated Palestinian State, neither Jewish nor Arab, probably along the lines proposed by the Anglo-American committee in 1946. The intransigence of both sides, combined with the quarrel over immigration, has seemingly rendered such a solution almost impossible.

The third would be international administration of the Holy Land, with neither Jew nor Arab possessed of a final voice in highest government councils. This solution may yet have to be invoked if the latest partition plan fails through lack of Arab cooperation. Unfortunately, previous world experience with such international administrations, as well as current developments in Trieste, leaves doubt as to the feasibility of such an arrangement. Hence the general preference for partition.

In accepting the UN partition proposal, Zionist groups show themselves realistic. They see that as time goes on, with no solution forthcoming, the chances of getting any homeland in Palestine diminish. In expressing a willingness to abide by the UN report, despite long-standing prejudices against partition, Zionists made a contribution to peace. This is a hopeful sign.

The Revisionists, of course, still object. They want a united Palestine. Other Jewish groups outside Zionist circles believe that partition is only the beginning of more trouble. They argue, not without some basis, that partition means a Jewish state, which in turn implies a concession to nationalism and probably questions about the allegiance of Jews who are today citizens of other countries. The counsels of this latter group will scarcely prevail, inasmuch as their insistence on religious unity, as against unified nationality, separates them too sharply from the Zionist tendency, which has been a half century in growing.

The great obstacle to successful partition is Arab intransigence. The possibility of the Arabs being driven into Soviet arms has been played up. But even were there no Russia, the strong Arab tendency to particularism—it can hardly be called nationalism—would still create difficulties in Palestine. There is something un-

realistic about their recital of historic claims. After all, Palestine is the Holy Land of three groups, and not a traditional feudal estate of any one.

Arab threats of military force can hardly be taken very seriously. The Arab states are so poor and underdeveloped that probably their forces could be resisted by the Jews in Palestine. More serious is the danger of rioting and underground activity. In any event, we can expect that any action Great Britain takes at present will be such as to irritate the Arabs as little as possible. The Arabs probably have hopes of British support and hence play on Britain's fears of Soviet domination in the Middle East.

Moscow's declaration of her preference for partition as the second-best thing to federalization somewhat clears the atmosphere. The USSR hesitates to alienate Jewish world opinion. Russia knows, too, that we have no intention of standing by while she overruns the Middle East as she has already overrun Eastern Europe. Were the Arab leaders farsighted, they would see that no good can come to them by deserting the UN opinion in favor of the USSR. Should the latter take over, their own dynasties would necessarily yield to puppet regimes. Such is sovietization.

In the present world situation the whole controversy over a few hundred square miles of land in the Middle East would seem ridiculous were it not for the possibility that a major conflict may yet be touched off in that region. As it is, uncritical opposition to Britain on the part of Zionists, and Arab intransigence, play into the hands of democracy's enemies. We can only hope that the partition plan can be made to work.

Facing the relief crisis

As might have been predicted, the religious leaders of the country quickly responded to President Truman's appeal for aid to war-torn nations abroad and pledged their cooperation with his voluntary food conservation program (AMERICA, "Food and the crisis," October 18, 1946).

"In the past," said the Most Rev. John T. McNicholas, Archbishop of Cincinnati and Chairman of the NCWC Administrative Board, "our people have given edifying proof that their realization of the need is keen and that the roots of their charity are deep." The nation will acquit itself, he was confident, "of the high duty and opportunity which in the Providence of God are given to it in these distressful days." Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, in a letter to the clergy, religious and laity of his archdiocese, also stressed the obligation of Christian charity. "We are fully confident," he wrote, "that our Catholic people, religious and laity, will co-

operate in following the suggestions made to save food so that grain and other supplies may immediately be placed at the disposal of our Government to help the starving millions." And the National Conference of Catholic Charities, in convention assembled in New Orleans, resolved that aid for Europe "is something that calls for the united support of all the people of our country."

This splendid response—similar expressions of approval and pledges of cooperation came from Protestant and Jewish sources—will tend to strengthen the confused and faint of heart, as well as confound the skeptics who are belittling the need for American generosity. With a presidential election scheduled for next year, the temptation to play politics with the Marshall program (why not call it the "American program"?) is terrific. We cannot put Western Europe back on its feet painlessly. Before we are finished with the job, we shall have to make bigger sacrifices than those we are being asked to make now. In all probability, taxes will be maintained at nearly present levels, prices will continue high, shortages of some commodities will persist. It is but human for a people only lately emerged from war to grow impatient with these burdens and to pine for a return to normalcy. And it is only human for politicians to want to exploit the situation. That is why the energetic support of religious leaders is so essential to the success of the American program to aid Western Europe. They can appeal, as most politicians cannot, to our sense of duty; they can put the program on a solid moral basis.

We do not mean to imply that the European response to the American offer of aid—which our associate, Father Gibbons, synopsisized in these columns over the past two weeks—is altogether perfect and above criticism. Nor do we believe that our assistance should be dispensed prodigally, without strict attention to realities of life abroad. But, on the other hand, we have little patience with those who close their eyes to facts and exaggerate difficulties. These people, either from selfishness or from a misguided and immoral isolationism or for political advantage, are concerned not with improving the American aid program, but with wrecking it.

For instance, a few of the many Congressmen who have been abroad this summer have announced on their return that the crisis in Europe has been exaggerated. Yet Archbishop McNicholas, with all the facts before him, describes the need in Europe as "really appalling," and Archbishop Ritter states bluntly that "millions in Europe and Asia face starvation this winter unless immediate help and food supplies be given them." Some of the other "popular" arguments against the American program are equally groundless and irresponsible, and should be instantly rejected. With more sober criticisms, none of which should weaken our determination to re-establish Western Europe, we shall deal in future issues.

If one bears in mind the political realities of the world situation today, as well as the economic facts, most of the arguments against an American policy of aid to Europe will be seen to be irrelevant or unimportant. Most of them proceed from the dangerously false assumption that the world is at peace.

Politics and meat prices

The voters are angry about meat prices. They are every bit as angry now as they were last year when meat vanished from butcher shops, and shelves were bare. Rightly or wrongly—we think wrongly—the voters blamed OPA. As a consequence, in the 1946 elections the Democrats took the rap. "Had enough?" the Republicans asked, and the voters said "And how!" and swept the Democrats out of control of both House and Senate.

Politicians remember little things like that; which is the reason they are losing sleep even now over 1948. The voters have had enough of high meat prices, and of high prices generally; and they intend to register a strong protest at the ballot-box. Where, the politicians wonder, will the lightning strike this time? Not that they assume a fatalistic attitude toward the situation and sit back patiently to await the inexorable working of some natural law. Quite the contrary, as you can see from the newspapers. When the general public hurls the bolt, the lightning can be assisted to strike in the right place. And so the Republicans are already busy blaming high prices on the White House, and the Democrats are asking scornfully, "Who killed OPA?"

Between now and November, 1948, there will be such floods of oratory on this theme that the indignant voter may well become confused. It will not be a simple matter this time of venting one's anger by turning the "rascals" out (for no other reason than that the rascals happened to be in office when meat disappeared from the butcher's shelves). To gain relief from high prices, it will be necessary to vote intelligently. And to vote intelligently requires an acquaintance with facts and a just assessment of blame. Otherwise the lightning may strike in the wrong place, and prices go higher still.

Not to place the blame definitively for present extortionate meat prices but to clear the air somewhat we offer the following considerations.

High wages, enabling the working-class family to eat more meat, do not seem to be the answer. Since 1939, weekly earnings in manufacturing industries have jumped from \$23.62 to \$48.46 (May, 1947). But these figures are misleading. In 1939 dollars, the average income of a family of four has increased over this period only \$6.37, the rest of the monetary gain having been eaten up by the rise in prices. Furthermore, granted that more meat is being eaten today than ever before, the per capita consumption this year will be only slightly higher than it was in 1946. And supply has been maintained.

Nor do exports explain the spurt in prices this past year, since during 1946-47 we sent abroad only 2.2 per cent of our total meat production.

The farmer has done all right, but he has not cleaned up since the demise of OPA. In the 1935-39 period, he received fifty-three cents of the housewife's meat dollar. Under OPA, in 1946, he pocketed seventy-seven cents. This spring he was receiving seventy-one cents. While wholesale meat prices increased eighty-five per cent between May, 1946 and May, 1947, farm meat prices advanced only fifty-five per cent.

What about the packers, then? In 1945, Armour had a profit of \$9.3 million after taxes; in 1946, even though volume and sales were reduced during the sitdown strike against OPA, the figure was \$21 million, a gain of 126 per cent. For 1946, the Big Four—Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson—reported a profit of \$122 million—a figure three times higher than their 1939 earnings.

While these observations do not settle the argument, they may be of some help to the confused and angry consumer when he goes to the polls in 1948.

Youth for charity

"Of the six young men who formed the first conference [of St. Vincent de Paul] not one had passed his twentieth year." In these words, addressed to the National Catholic Charities Conference in New Orleans, Pope Pius XII recalled to our minds the original concept of Frederick Ozanam, the Society's founder. His purpose "was to demonstrate that the teachings of Christ are still workable in the present," and he wanted that demonstration to be carried out by the youth—"the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was a challenge to Catholic youth." It was never more a challenge than today.

Too often today we forget that guiding concept. In parishes the St. Vincent de Paul Society is all too frequently composed of the elderly and the middle-aged; outside that Society, the work of Catholic charity is carried on largely by older heads and hands. Rarely is the appeal directed to the young men and women of the parish, of the school and college (though there are certain noteworthy exceptions), to throw themselves zealously into this great apostolate.

Not only does the work of charity suffer from this lack of young blood and youthful drive, but Catholic youth suffers, too. This the Pope points out:

With Ozanam we, too, would like to see all young men of head and heart united for some work of Christian charity. It is not a question of giving money; it is a question of giving self. Such an apostolate would revitalize their faith, give direction and stability to a correct attitude toward the frivolous things of life, awaken powers of leadership, the while it would help powerfully to remedy the evils of social and racial inequalities.

Catholic university youth has been introduced to the need and attractiveness of charity by the efforts now being made to succor needy Catholic students in the war-ravaged countries, but the energies of Catholic youth outside the schools have barely been tapped. Why should not parishes, as parishes, take an interest in the DP's, organize to send CARE packages, or to do any of the hundred and one things charity is called on to do in today's charity-demanding world. And if the parish, why not the parish's youth?

Such a spirit of zeal among the young, begun now when the needs are so imperative and obvious, would carry over into more normal times when needs, though not so apparent, will still persist.

Catholic charity needs more of Catholic youth; Catholic youth needs the asceticism of active work in charity.

German POW chaplains

In his recently published memoirs, reviewed elsewhere in these pages, former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes makes the statement that "forced labor camps are a symbol of Hitler's regime that we should eliminate as soon as possible." To him and to all decent men it is extremely regrettable that more than two years after the cessation of hostilities hundreds of thousands of German and Japanese soldiers are still prisoners of war.

Since the idea of using forced labor as a mode of reparation was rejected at Potsdam, Mr. Byrnes on December 2, 1946 asked France and several other countries to agree to repatriate by October 1, 1947 all the prisoners they had "on loan" from the American Army. In reply the French strongly remonstrated by recalling that during the war 720,000 Frenchmen were removed to Germany for compulsory labor while 1,500,000 French prisoners of war were kept in Germany for this purpose. Nevertheless a memorandum of understanding was negotiated with the French last March 10 by our Ambassador in Paris, Jefferson Caffery. The terms of this agreement contemplate the release of a half-million POW's "at the earliest practicable time." Later, at Moscow, the Big Four agreed that all German prisoners should be returned by December 31, 1948, but of the value of this accord Mr. Byrnes appears to be skeptical.

Meanwhile there are a few things our Government can do to make a disagreeable state of affairs somewhat more tolerable. At present there are approximately 100 German priests in the French POW camps who were admitted to work as volunteer chaplains. These priests have willingly assumed the status of prisoners of war, since no other choice was offered to them by the French authorities. They have indeed the right to return to Germany, but since the gate has been slammed on replacements, naturally they have elected to remain at their posts. It is reported that a group of German church leaders recently made a tour of these camps and expressed their satisfaction, but such declarations are of little significance, since obviously the visitors were in no position to say otherwise. Their statement certainly does not square with other available information.

The continuing interest of the American authorities in Paris, working from the office of Ambassador Caffery in cooperation with the International Red Cross, has been a welcome element in this difficult problem. It is understood that the French authorities who, to their credit be it said, have conceded the fundamental inequities of the status of these volunteers, are trying to work out a more acceptable program, enabling these civilian chaplains to exercise their priestly functions with greater freedom. Mr. Byrnes still thinks that the POW's should all have been released by this October first, and we agree with him. It will be some small recompense, however, if the French Government, under the prodding of the United States, whose moral interest in the matter the French have conceded, makes new provisions liberalizing the status of the few German priests charitably ministering to their countrymen.

Reorganizing Stalin's Fifth Column

Henry C. Sutton

Henry C. Sutton has recently returned from Germany, where he put in several years of service, first as an Army officer, later as a civilian employe of the War Department. He is now engaged in writing a book on the lasting effects of the Nazi regime on world affairs.

Moscow has finally admitted that its dissolution of the Comintern on May 22, 1943—when the Soviet Union most desperately needed Allied assistance, especially American lend-lease aid—was just a tactical maneuver and not, as its propaganda implied and many non-Communists in this country and elsewhere had been willing to believe, abandonment of communist designs for world conquest. Under the supreme direction of Colonel General A. A. Zhdanov, whom many consider as the most likely heir to Stalin's throne, a secret conference of the Communist International was held "somewhere in Poland," resulting in the establishment of an "Information Bureau" in Marshal Tito's capital, Belgrade.

Not that the communist parties heretofore, as the statement released by the conference suggests, had suffered from any "absence of connections . . . a serious shortcoming, incorrect and harmful." Most of the communist leaders listed as present had spent the war years in Moscow, in close touch with each other and with the top policy-makers of the Kremlin. They have certainly not forgotten these common studies and instructions in the short two years since Red Army planes whisked them back into their respective capitals. At least one other international communist conference had already been held earlier this year: the meeting of the communist parties of the British Empire, convened last spring in London and attended by fraternal delegates from all over the world. And throughout the four years since the dissolution of the Comintern, the close coordination of all actions taken by Stalin's disciples anywhere in the world, down to minute details in the propaganda line, to the timing of every single step to coincide with appropriate action taken by the Soviet Government itself, has proved beyond any doubt that Communists do not really need any "Information Bureau," whether they coordinate their action by merely listening to Radio Moscow, or through friendly contacts between neighboring parties, or through outright orders from supreme headquarters, received via diplomatic pouch.

The conference in Poland and the Information Bureau in Belgrade represent only the first act of this new show of Comintern techniques, if they are not a diversionary performance altogether. Belgrade, it is true, has been an important junction of the Kremlin network for some time already. It serves undoubtedly as headquarters for operations against Greece and quite probably has been directing communist activities in other Balkan countries, possibly including even Austria. But this city of 400,000 is hardly the Kremlin's final choice for the capital of a communist Europe, if not for geographic, then for psychological reasons. However unquestioning communist obedience is to Moscow's commands, Italian and French comrades would still be reluctant to receive orders from

the capital of Yugoslavia which, after World War I, used to await its cues from Paris. Moreover, any subordination to Yugoslavs cannot but damage the communist cause in Italian eyes.

Another reason to doubt the definitive character of the now announced set-up is the reported composition of the conference, comparing those present with those who were not. Taking the membership figures given at the London communist meeting, only 6,800,000 party members out of a total membership of 9,913,000 in all Europe outside the Soviet Union were represented there. Their eight countries include 171 of the 404 million inhabitants of Europe outside Russia—or only forty per cent of the total.

Italy and France were the only countries west of the Iron Curtain named in the announcement on October 5. It is quite possible, and even probable, that other countries were also represented there and not mentioned publicly, but since the new tactics call for publicity, such other countries were obviously not yet considered fit to be included in the scheme. Among those absent were Great Britain, Germany and Austria—main areas of the political contest between East and West—all Scandinavian countries, Belgium and the Netherlands, Switzerland and the more or less illegal communist parties in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. Therefore, the bureau in Belgrade is either only one of several regional Comintern headquarters (a set-up adopted by the Comintern in the 'twenties, when it had separate sub-secretariats for the Balkans, for Western Europe, etc.) or the entire publicity campaign about the conference in Poland and the Bureau in Belgrade is "deception propaganda," intended to divert attention from the real life-lines of Moscow's controls over its widely scattered armies.

The re-appearance of the Comintern does not actually change the alignment of world political forces, nor does the manifesto issued over the signatures of Colonel General Zhdanov and his subordinates add any new angle to Moscow's current line of political warfare against the United States. Nevertheless, this latest maneuver undoubtedly forecasts an even more increased intensity in communist attacks, whether the immediate, tactical, objective be primarily defensive, that is, to frustrate the Marshall plan, or offensive, namely, a renewed bid for political control over all Europe.

In terms of political organization, the re-appearance of the Comintern looks like a step backwards; perhaps even like belated recognition in Moscow that a great opportunity had been missed two years ago. While the immediate purpose of the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 was to allay American distrust and fear of subversive activities, it actually fitted into long-range Soviet plans for which the protracted existence of this ideologi-

cal relic of World War I had proved very embarrassing several times before.

During the period of defense against Hitler, especially since 1935 when the seventh and last World Congress of the Comintern was held, Soviet foreign policy had become very versatile, willing to conclude alliances with virtually everybody, regardless of how bitterly opposed to communism. These twists and turns, from the "National Front" proposal in France, where they wanted Flandin to join the Popular Front government, all the way to the Stalin-Hitler pact of August, 1939, were rather difficult to reconcile with the revolutionary philosophy on which the Comintern was ideologically based. After the dissolution of the Comintern, Moscow's policies continued just as "unorthodox"; defeatist propaganda into Germany was organized through a committee of high-ranking conservative German officers broadcasting from Moscow; in the Nazi-occupied territories, the Communists formed part of the national resistance movements; in America, they even pretended to endorse capitalism.

Hitler's rise to power, his re-armament and threats of aggression, forced the Soviet Union and its communist followers all over the world onto the defensive, but Hitler's downfall restored Stalin's badly shaken self-confidence and encouraged an aggressive return from the strategy of "Socialism in One Country" to the original concept of world revolution. Strongest symbol of the new expansionist mood was the Red Army. In the course of its spectacular advance from the banks of the Volga at Stalingrad into the heart of Hitler's Reich, it forgot conveniently that its victory, however dearly paid for in blood and material losses, would not have been possible without American lend-lease and without Anglo-American offensives from El Alamein to the beaches of Normandy.

When the war ended, the Communists expected to win control over Europe in one gigantic landslide. The popular upheaval against Nazi terror would rally the masses to the left. The Communists had the best international contacts, the greatest political and organizational experience, the most clear-cut aims among all anti-Nazi groups in German-occupied Europe. And the Red Army, acclaimed throughout the world for its heroic deeds, would do the rest.

But most of the people who had been opposed to Nazi dictatorship disliked dictatorship from the left likewise. Only a minority of disaffected Nazis turned communist (apart from those in Germany, Austria and elsewhere who joined the communist organizations purely for survival). Despite the huge ideological and material advantages enjoyed by the communist parties, Catholic and social-democratic parties rallied substantial majorities in France, Italy, Western Germany and Austria, while democratic peasant groups challenged communist claims to political hegemony in the Balkans. And the behavior of the Red Army, in occupied and liberated areas alike, together with the unbelievably short-sighted, egotistic and wasteful administrative methods of the Soviet occupation authorities, quickly turned original sympathies and good will into horror, savage hatred or abject fear.

Throughout Europe, the first elections after the end of hostilities deeply disappointed the masters of the Kremlin and destroyed any delusions about a spontaneously rising "red wave of the future." Even in elections held under Russian bayonets, as in Austria and in Hungary during 1945, the Communists were severely beaten. Only in France and Italy did powerful communist parties emerge, but—to quote a saying overheard somewhere in Europe—"if one could have arranged to let the Red Army occupy France and Italy for merely four weeks, this would have meant the end of any communist chance in these countries, too."

Because of the combined effects of these blunders and misconceptions, the political space of Europe, virtually empty on VE-day, was not filled with communist power. In both France and Italy the Communists have even been expelled, at least for the time being, from the cabinet seats they first occupied. Such crude "corrections" of genuine election results, as the one practised recently in Hungary, will hardly survive the withdrawal of the Red



Army — unless the ruling clique succeeds in underpinning its government with true totalitarian foundations, down to the grass roots. But despite these setbacks, the Communists are far from having missed the boat yet. Europe's real postwar crisis is still ahead of us, and I do not mean merely a hungry winter, however disastrous that might be. But as the

shock of war and liberation wears off, as the people see the hopes pinned on Hitler's defeat frustrated, as their postwar disillusion grows and they realize the failure of reconstruction plans, the breach of Atlantic-Charter and peace-treaty promises, the masses of Europe will really get into what is technically known to Moscow's experts as a "revolutionary situation."

All communist efforts are being geared for that moment. The revival of the Comintern, attempting to recreate the fiction of a revolutionary movement independent of Soviet government power and policies, is one of many moves which the Communists have to make in order to overcome the initial setbacks of the first two postwar years and to maneuver themselves into a more propitious position for the all-out offensive to come.

Apart from its ultimate purpose of laying the political groundwork for a future Soviet war of world conquest, the real danger of that offensive is not so much its violent anti-American ranting, however badly that poisons the international atmosphere and confuses the minds of hundreds of millions of Europeans, including the oppressed Russian people themselves. It is rather the fundamental, lasting damage which the communist amalgam of ideological distortion, outright lies, surreptitious pressure, blackmail, brutal military and police terror inflict upon Europe. The complete amorality of Soviet policy, its cynicism and utter unscrupulousness make it virtually im-

possible to uproot the evil heritage of Hitler's totalitarianism, discourages any democratic growth, tends to discredit democratic institutions and thus to destroy gradually any hope that Europe might some day stand on its own feet.

At present, the chances of the democratic, anti-communist forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain to win the political battle of Europe are yet fair enough. But if we let the enemy choose place, time, issues and weapons of the contest, if we fail to neutralize the powerful interference of the Soviet Union by coordinated political support of the democratic elements in Europe (and this goes far beyond the Marshall plan, however indispensable

Soviet ends and means in the Balkans

Walter Dushnyck

"To understand the intricacies of Soviet foreign policy, it is first of all necessary to understand how Soviet foreign policy is correlated with the activities of the communist parties abroad. To understand this correlation, it is first necessary to know something of the technique of totalitarian penetration. Yugoslavia affords the classic example of the application of this technique" (David Martin: Ally Betrayed: The Uncensored Story of Tito and Mihailovich, p. 4).

The intransigence with which Soviet Russia opposed the establishment of a permanent UN Balkan Commission, and the fact that the resurrected Comintern selected Belgrade for its capital, are not accidental and unrelated facts. Rather they are parts of a pattern.

Russia's centuries-long struggle to reach warm-water seas, and her persistent attempts to set firmly an imperialistic foundation in the heart of Europe, could hardly be realized without subjugation of the Balkan peoples. Only in the possession of the Adriatic and Aegean shores—implying as it does suppression of Greece and Turkey as independent states—would Soviet leaders feel safe to go ahead with their daring plans to conquer Europe before tackling the rest of the world.

While the question of Greece and Turkey, for the time being at least, remains a cause of considerable worry to Soviet strategists, the Balkan countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia—are already in the mill of Soviet totalitarian *Gleichschaltung*.

The procedure followed in the Soviet subjugation of the Balkans is dramatically delineated in the memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly, submitted by the International Peasant Union (I.P.U.) on September 29, 1947. The UN delegates from some countries were reported shocked by the voluminous and documented evidence presented by exiled leaders from Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

All the peasant leaders submitting the memorandum

economic aid undoubtedly is), the battle will be lost. Our friends and allies will end on the gallows, like Nicola Petkov, or will be driven into a life of exile, like Ferenc Nagy.

If we commit our potential strength "too little and too late" to the political battle today, we shall pay for it in blood, sweat and tears tomorrow. Have we not been through all this only a few years ago? May the challenge raised "somewhere in Poland" rally Americans and free people everywhere for peaceful, but strong and uncompromising defense of democracy—today, while the rising, second tide of totalitarianism can still be contained without a shooting war.

Walter Dushnyck obtained the background material for his article in a recent personal interview with the exiled leaders of the International Peasant Union. For some time past, he has been cooperating with David Martin, author of Ally Betrayed, on the Refugee Defense Committee.

have been forced to flee communist dictatorships in their home countries. Some were compelled to resign by threats to their families and friends. Pressure was put upon Ferenc Nagy, Hungary's ex-Premier, when his child was kidnaped and kept in captivity by communist storm-troopers while Mr. Nagy was abroad. Dr. George M. Dimitrov, Bulgarian Peasant Party leader and close associate of the nation's executed hero, Nicola Petkov, had to flee to the American Legation in Sofia. Dr. Vladko Machek, spokesman of the Croatian peasantry, ex-prisoner of former King Alexander of Yugoslavia and later of the Nazis, dared not return to his native country under Tito. Nor did Dr. Milan Gavrilovich, Yugoslavia's ex-ambassador to Moscow. Similar was the case of Grigore Buzesti, member of the Rumanian National Peasant Party and erstwhile political associate of Dr. Iuliu Maniu. Dr. Maniu did not escape but is now in a Bucharest dungeon, awaiting a Moscow-made "treason trial" against his country.

For the sake of the record, these leaders recalled in their memorandum some of the history-making pacts and agreements to which the Soviet Union adhered as a *bona fide* builder of international peace. Specifically mentioned were the Declaration of the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, underwriting the Declaration of Principles of August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter; the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943 and, finally, the Yalta and Potsdam agreements together with the armistice conventions with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania.

In the above agreements Soviet Russia pledged herself to respect the rights of peoples to choose the government under which they prefer to live. She promised to cooperate in the establishment of a peace which would furnish assurances that human beings everywhere could live their lives in freedom from fear and want. The Russians also agreed not to use their armed forces against the territories of other countries after the cessation of

hostilities; they agreed to abandon the use of force and to respect fundamental rights, the dignity and worth of human beings and the equality and independence of all nations.

How the Soviet Union has honored these pledges is recorded in the Peasant Leaders' memorandum to the United Nations. Apparently there is not even one of the obligations assumed which the Soviets have left unviolated. First of all, the Soviet armed forces have been used for aggressively subversive ends in the political, economic and social spheres. The Allied Control Commissions, established in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, have been converted into Soviet agencies and used for Russia's imperialistic designs. In the political field, charged the exiled leaders, Soviet aggression was effected by "means of interference, pressure and subversive communist infiltration." Native communist parties were given a dominant position. They were able to gain control of the national police departments, which were subsequently transformed into partisan terrorist agencies. For the same reason the national defense forces—the armies of Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia—were purged of all regular officer cadres. They were replaced by communist-minded personnel, whose unqualified loyalty always and forever belongs to Moscow.

The judicial systems of the various countries, says the memorandum, gave way to unconstitutional, Soviet-directed "partisan tribunals" and "people's courts." These latter proceeded through the practice of judicial assassination to liquidate the democratic opposition.

The remaining democratic parties are now reduced to subservience through increasing pressure and political intimidation. The peasant parties, which in countries like Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, enjoyed the full support of popular majorities, early became the main targets of communist persecution. The suppression of a democratic press was followed by drastic curtailment of the right of association and assembly. Even the labor movements have been forcibly integrated into the communist parties and made transmission belts of the Soviet totalitarian system.

Soviet authorities, seeking their own economic objectives, have completely ruined the occupied countries by means of economic aggression and penetration. Inflation and repeated currency "stabilizations" have been successfully used to promote subversive political and social aims.

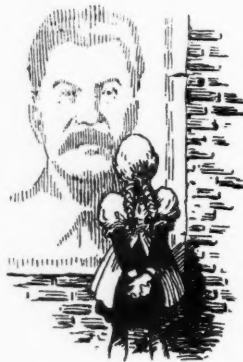
Existing institutions in the Soviet-occupied countries, regardless how far removed from political and economic life, have fallen victims of the totalitarian aggression. In order to reshape the whole social structure, the communist parties have taken over educational and cultural establishments. All schools are organized as to accommodate communist teachings and pro-Soviet propaganda. In the same way, religion and church institutions in the occupied countries are paralyzed and subjected to continued pressure and persecution.

Although the methods of political interference vary from country to country, the pattern and the ultimate goal are necessarily always and ever the same. The plan for progressive incorporation into the Soviet system

began even before Russian occupation of each country.

The Bulgarian Communists, organized in the "Fatherland Front," seized power and, under the guidance of the Soviet secret police (NKVD and MVD), began the systematic extermination of citizens considered politically dangerous. As a result, thousands of citizens with democratic leanings lost their lives without being tried or convicted, while thousands of others were deported to Russia. The Bulgarian Agrarian Union, which represented eighty per cent of the population, became the chief victim of the Soviet-supported government. Soviet officers received orders to impede the work of the democratic parties by any means accessible.

Andrei Y. Vishinsky came to Sofia on Jan. 9, 1946 and told Nicola Petkov, of the Agrarian Union, that if his party wanted to participate in the government, its candidates would have to be approved by the Communist Party. When this proposal was rejected, the Soviet leader gave the word for an all-out campaign of terror against the existing democratic parties in Bulgaria. A series of political blood-lettings followed. These culminated in the outlawing of the Agrarian Union and the execution of the Union's accepted leader, Nicola Petkov, on September 23, 1947.



In Hungary the Soviet occupation authorities, under Marshal Clementi Voroshilov, tried in vain to persuade the Smallholders Party to join a communist-supported list in the elections. The elections held on November 4, 1945 gave fifty-seven per cent of the votes to the Smallholders Party. This result completely disappointed and angered the Communists. Thereupon the Budapest government, in which Matyas Rakosi, Erno Gero, Zoltan Vass and other Comintern leaders participated, engineered a mass witch-hunt against members of the peasant party, whom they accused of "reactionary activities."

In the course of 1946 the leftists increased their attacks upon the Smallholders Party, while Soviet General V. Sviridov pressed the weakened Hungarian Government with ever-bigger demands. Finally, the Soviets arrested Bela Kovacs, secretary of the Party, and on trumped-up charges accused the Party itself of "anti-Soviet conspiracy." As a result, Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy was ousted and forced to flee the country. Meanwhile the Communists, with the support of the Soviet army of occupation, were able to transform Hungary into a Soviet communist colony.

The fate of Rumania is very much the same as that of its neighbors. The present communist government of Petru Groza was imposed on Rumania on March 6, 1945. The transfer of power was accomplished by means of threats made personally by the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Andrei Y. Vishinsky. Three Soviet citizens of Rumanian origin, able agents of the Comintern, arrived

simultaneously with the Soviet troops. These were Ana Pauker, Luca Laslo and Emil Bodnaras. Without loss of time they began to build up the subversive strength of the Rumanian Communist Party through recruitment of "workers militia" and bands of armed ruffians called "workers committees." The main task of the Communists was the elimination from political life of the National Peasant Party, together with its head, Dr. Juliu Maniu. This they subsequently accomplished, after enlisting the assistance of the Soviet troops and the secret police.

To gain control over Yugoslavia, the Communist Party under Josip Broz Tito made several agreements with small political groups. The object was to convince the Allies, and international opinion, that the Yugoslav Communists had in view a broad coalition of all political parties. But from the moment the Allies recognized his government, Tito used his forces to eliminate or neutralize both actual and potential opponents.

The main instruments employed by the Tito government were: 1) secret communist police (OZNA); 2) "National Liberation Committees," kept under communist control; 3) "militia" or communist-dominated police forces which terrorized the people; 4) "political commissars" charged with supervision of the army, of government departments, schools, factories, etc.

Both the Croat Peasant Party of Dr. V. Machek and the Serbian Agrarian Union of Dr. Milan Gavrilovich were reduced to impotency and their members killed or deported. Yugoslavia today is a replica of the Soviet State.

From the pattern of Soviet aggression in the Balkans it becomes evident that the aims of the Soviet Union are

destructive and imperialistic. Furthermore, they flagrantly contradict the peaceful goals of the United Nations as well as its charter. The Balkan countries are not the only victims of these Soviet machinations. Poland and the Baltic States have also been brutalized.

The plight of the Balkan countries is duplicated in other small nations which find themselves in the path of Bolshevik advance. The forces of totalitarianism, seeking strategic positions, are greatly encouraged by the fact that democratic reaction to Russia's policies and deeds has been slow, timid and ineffective.

The Peasant leaders' memorandum asks that the United Nations assert its international authority by restoring the independence of nations "liberated" by Russia.

They ask that "caretaker governments" be established to prepare for the day of genuine liberation. They ask that an International Commission be set up to supervise the affairs of the countries involved and that persecuted citizens of these countries be given protection and the guarantee of fair trial. The aim of the exiled Peasant leaders is to regain sovereignty for their home lands.

After what the Russians have done in Korea, Germany and Austria, and especially after the resurrection of the Comintern as their effective weapon of propaganda, espionage and agitation, it is time to recognize the danger confronting the free nations of the West.

Too few of us realize that what happens in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia is not a detached series of political developments, but the progressive implementation of a well-conceived and strictly-adhered-to program which Russia has developed with a view to imposing her system throughout the world.

The nationalization of Australia's banks

Denis Sheridan

Father Denis Sheridan, S.J., who presents this analysis of the proposed nationalization of Australian banks, is a Bachelor of Economics from the University of Sydney. At present Father Sheridan is connected with the St. Louis Jesuit School at Claremont, West Australia.

The momentous announcement made in August by the Australian Federal Government of its resolution to nationalize the country's private banks has probably caused more commotion in the financial, business and political life of the nation than any other financial measure ever proposed by Parliament. It goes deeper than any of the socialization plans introduced at present in Britain.

The events leading up to this decision were surprisingly simple, even trivial. The Commonwealth Bank Act of 1945 (of which more anon) in one of its minor clauses (Section 48) required all local government bodies and councils to transfer their accounts, if conducted by a private bank, to the Commonwealth Bank. Many bodies objected to this form of coercion, not from any dislike of the Commonwealth Bank, but as a matter of principle. Accordingly the matter was brought before the High Court of Australia, which declared Section 48 unconstitutional. The opinion of the Chief Judge was couched in no uncertain terms:

It was put that if Section 48 is valid, a provision would be equally valid which prohibited a bank from conducting business with any person except with the consent of the Federal Treasurer. Under such a condition, all persons professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular political party, or following a particular occupation, could be prevented from using any banking facilities, or could be compelled to deal with a particular bank selected by the Treasurer.

Immediately the Court's decision was made known, the Prime Minister (Mr. Chifley), after a conference with ministers and financial experts, declared his intention of pressing for the nationalization of banking. After a discussion lasting two hours, the Cabinet, by a unanimous decision, authorized the Prime Minister and Attorney General "to prepare legislation for the nationalization of banking, other than State banks, with proper protection for shareholders, depositors, borrowers, and the staff of private banks." In brief, all private trading banks are to

be taken over by the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. This legislation was introduced into Parliament on October 15.

The proposal has provoked a torrent of criticism, favorable and adverse. It would be well to hear the views expressed by the critics themselves, but, before doing so, it is essential that the reader gain some knowledge of the part played in Australia by the private banks and the Commonwealth Bank. An excellent summary can be found in the report of the Royal Commission on Monetary and Banking Systems in Australia, which was published in July, 1937, the result of eighteen-months' investigation by the six commissioners.

The private banks differ from those in the United States in a number of ways; perhaps most strikingly in the extent to which they have developed the system of branch banking. There are practically no one-town banks, but the whole continent is served by nine "big" banks, with hundreds of branches throughout Australia. The Commonwealth Bank, unlike the Bank of England which has only recently been nationalized, has always been a public institution. It was established in 1911 by a Labor Government, which then and ever afterwards has wanted it to enter into active competition with the private banks; whereas Liberal Governments have desired it to stay aloof from competition and to confine itself to central banking activities.

Accordingly, for many years the Bank was neither fish nor flesh, but was the plaything of successive political parties. Owing to this and certain other peculiarities of the Australian economy, the Commonwealth Bank could not be described as a true Central Bank until 1929, when the great depression hit the world. Australia, being a debtor country and relying on the sale of her primary produce to pay her overseas interest bill, felt the impact of the slump with particular severity. In one fell swoop, she was deprived of foreign loans, and the receipts for her exports of primary produce were reduced to half the pre-depression level. In the governmental measures which followed, the Commonwealth Bank was given control of the country's foreign exchange; at that time, also, its relations with the Government became closer (due mainly to government borrowing both by long-term loans and short-term by means of Treasury Bills). Owing to the Commonwealth Bank taking over many of the assets of trading banks, especially overseas funds, their balances with the Bank started to grow, until they became the most important item of their cash holdings in Australia. In 1924 the Bank had been given sole right to issue bank notes in Australia, an important development in its central banking activities.

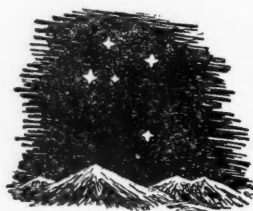
Reviewing the position in 1936, the Royal Commission of Monetary and Banking Systems found that the gradual evolution of the Commonwealth Bank as a central bank was due not only to the exercise of its statutory powers but to the voluntary cooperation freely given by the trading banks. However, criticism was leveled at the conduct of both the central and private banks during the depression, and the Commission recommended several measures which would strengthen the position of the

Government through the Bank. Up to the outbreak of war in 1939 none of these recommendations had been adopted by Parliament.

The Second World War, with all its attendant restrictions on the activities of private individuals and institutions, enormously increased the power and prestige of the Bank. It was given full powers over all foreign exchange transactions; all private banks were obliged to keep at the Bank a special wartime deposit, which they were not to use for the purpose of credit expansion. The unprecedented volume of loan flotation and Treasury Bill Finance undertaken put the Commonwealth Bank finally in a very strong position.

As a result of these developments and in order to carry out the recommendations of the Banking Commission of 1936, and also to achieve some of the aims of the Australian Labour Party, the Commonwealth Bank Act of 1945 was passed. The clauses most significant for our purpose (apart from the trouble-making Section 48) are:

1. The provision that, if any difference of opinion should arise between the Bank and the Government on the question of the Bank's monetary and banking policy, the Government may require the Bank to adopt a policy for which the Government will accept the responsibility.



2. The obligation on the Bank to exercise its powers in such a way as will best contribute to, amongst other things, the maintenance of full employment in the Australian Commonwealth.

3. The specific provision that the Commonwealth Bank will act as a central bank.

4. The separation into two divisions of the central banking and general banking activities of the Bank; and the specific provision that "it shall be the duty of the Bank, through the General Banking Division, to develop and expand its banking business" and "not to refuse to conduct banking business for any person, by reason only of the fact that to conduct that business would have the effect of taking away business from another bank."

5. The provision that the Bank shall be under the sole control of the Governor (of the Bank), who will be appointed by the Governor-General. Thereby the Bank Board, comprising representatives of varying interests, is abolished.

6. The provision that the Secretary of the Department of the Treasury and the Governor of the Bank are to establish close liaison with each other, and to keep each other fully informed on all matters which jointly concern the Department of the Treasury and the Bank.

These clauses can all be traced to the report of the Royal Commission.

At this point it is most interesting to consider the conclusions reached by the Commission on nationalization and the position of private banks in Australia. It advocated "a system in which there is a government-owned central bank regulating the volume of currency and credit,

and, as an integral part of the system, privately owned banks which distribute that volume generally. . . .” However, that was a majority report. There was one among the Commissioners who wished to express a different opinion, and that was no less a person than Mr. Chifley, Prime Minister of Australia and the force behind the present bill. He stated:

With this opinion I am unable to agree. The evidence given before the Commission, and personal observation and experience, lead me to believe that there is no possibility of the objectives being reached, or of any well-ordered progress being made in the community, under a system in which there are privately owned trading banks which have been established for the purpose of making a profit.

From these words it is clear that the nationalization scheme is no snap decision, but that the verdict of the High Court of Australia is merely the occasion for bringing forth a plan which has been maturing in the Prime Minister’s mind for many a year. Indeed, it is but the materializing of an ideal that has ever been part of the platform of the Australian Labour Party, namely, the socialization of banks and of key industries.

Without delving into all the pros and cons of the nationalization of banking as such, let us examine some of the arguments put forward by the protagonists in the present crisis.

It is maintained that during the depression the trading banks quite ruthlessly adopted a credit policy that ruined thousands of small businessmen and tradesmen. The Banking Commission expressed dissatisfaction both with the Commonwealth Bank for not giving the lead as be-hooves a central bank and with the trading banks for not following the lead when given, as trading banks should.

When considering the case for nationalization, the words of Pope Pius XI, expressed in *Quadragesimo Anno*, should be borne in mind:

It is patent that in our days not only is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure. This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one may breathe against their will.

The main point of criticism against the proposed legislation is that it is unnecessary, because, under the Commonwealth Bank Act of 1945, the Government has power to prevent a recurrence of what occurred during the depression. Apart from this, vested and sectional interests most vehemently raise innumerable objections. They are causing so much clamor that the nationalization project threatens to precipitate an early election.

Mr. Menzies, leader of the Federal Opposition, always an eloquent statesman, has started a nationwide campaign on behalf of the private banks. *Inter alia*, he says:

This is a proposal that penetrates into the whole structure of life and liberty in Australia. What is to be taken from the Australian citizen is the right to live and work and to conduct his affairs in his own fashion, which was the right for which the war was fought. . . . Experience has shown that competition among banks has always resulted in favor of the customers, but with one bank there would be a monopoly, with no choice left to the customer. . . . All industry will pass into the hands of the Commonwealth Bank, and thence to the Treasurer. The whole of industry will, therefore, be in the hands of one man; and that is economic dictatorship with a vengeance.

The Federal Leader of the Country Party, Mr. Fadden, is no less bitter:

It will imperil Australia’s stability. It will shatter confidence in our hitherto reputable banking system. It introduces a most insidious form of conscription of Australian men and women, because the Chifley Government will dictate how they shall transact their banking business and will be able to pry into their business affairs.

I shall not venture to express an opinion on the matter or judge whether, as opponents maintain, the Government is exceeding its mandate. However, what does appear certain is that the measure will become law only after a terrific amount of storm and controversy and that the opposition afforded by vested interests (not least among them being over a million customers of private banks) may force the Government to abandon its scheme. If it becomes law, it will create one of the world’s greatest monopolies, taking over about \$300 million of assets and deposits worth almost one billion dollars.

Threat to the public domain

Ezra J. Poulsen

Every American should be interested in the range war now being waged in the West. Though gun-totin’ and shooting it out on sight are no longer the order of the day, the scrap really has some of the flair and color of old times. The contestants today are not two groups of competing cattlemen, or even cattle producers against sheepmen; but a huge combination of livestock owners, mining and business interests against the Government, which we may say represents the people at large.

Whether they know it or not, 140,000,000 citizens have a vital interest in the public-land question. Using the broadest possible interpretation of the term, public land may be considered that which is held under government supervision as a trust for all the people. This includes the twenty-five national parks, eighty national monuments, and 150 national forests, besides some 142,000,000 acres now administered under the Taylor grazing act. In a more restricted sense, however, the term public domain refers only to that part which is, or might be, open for sale, settlement or lease to private individuals.

The difficulty here is colossal, since there is a wide divergence of opinion as to just what lands should be included in this category.

Many would trim the present park- and forest-system to the bone, leaving only the smallest residue free from private exploitation; others would have the Government reach out farther and withdraw large areas now considered desirable for private use. Rep. Wesley D'Ewart (R., Mont.) sums up the three basic questions as follows:

Shall the land go to private individuals, go under State control, or shall it be retained by the Federal Government? Whichever of these trends or combination of trends finally triumphs, [it] will have a great influence on the pattern of life in America for generations to come, because it will represent the final disposal of a community and individual interest as old as the nation.

Leaders in several Western States, foremost among which are Wyoming, Utah and Nevada, are urging that lands administered under the Taylor grazing act be returned to State control. But there seems to be no articulate body of opinion favoring State administration of public land; hence the inference is that such land would be sold on coming into possession of the State, and the books closed, except for the collection of the nominal tax the new owners would presumably pay. Senator Pat McCarran, a strong defender of Western State Rights, is a leader in this effort.

While the livestock men and their representatives are spearheading the drive against continued Federal ownership of the lands in question, they are by no means alone. Numerous chambers of commerce, knife-and-fork clubs, and professional groups are entering into the debate. Mayor Earl J. Glade of Salt Lake City, addressing a convention of Utah druggists, urged a "stand up and fight" attitude in matters of Western progress; and among other things charged that the Department of the Interior is carrying on "a blockade against public interest, bearing on some phases of our industrial development." He was referring to Federal caution in issuing leases on oil-bearing areas.

Leaders of the highly organized sheep- and cattle-industry stand on their traditional battling ground in the demand for the release of public land to them. They don't want to pay grazing fees, which, under present conditions, are likely to increase; and they don't want government regulation, which they regard as too conservative, and contrary to their idea of individual freedom. They want to be sole owners. Likewise, mining and business interests are clamoring for a freer hand in exploring and exploiting the mineral and oil possibilities of the West. Aligned against these groups, but not nearly so well organized, and much less articulate, is the large body of citizens who are interested in conservation and in the broadly social aspect of our national welfare.

Here we find thousands of sportsmen, small business men, farmers, city workers and others who want to see streams stocked with fish, and forests stocked with game, who look forward to days and nights in the wide-open places, where they will not be met by the cold denial of the *No Trespassing* sign. They feel that lands and

streams far beyond the present limits of our national parks and forest reserves will be needed for the ever-expanding desire of free Americans to travel and vacation in places where their rights are second to those of no other man. Since land capable of supporting sheep and cattle, and producing mineral wealth, will also support wild game, they feel they have an interest at stake, even on the great western desert.

If the advocates of immediate sale have their way, all public lands outside the parks and forest reserves, as well as much of what is in the reserves, will be put on the block in the near future and sold at a nominal figure. Most of it, except in places where only small tracts are available, would go to a small group of the wealthiest sheep and cattle barons and syndicates in the country. In time, as competition and the tax burden increase, as they will, the weaker buyers will lose out, with an increasing amount of land going to a decreasing number of owners. Any interest the public at large may have in this great domain would then be lost forever. Mr. Average Citizen can neither hunt, nor camp, nor vacation in this wilderness empire; or, if he does, it will be by paying high fees to the owners, who at some future date may find the tourist trade more profitable than livestock, and may accordingly turn to the raising of bison, antelope and deer.

Such a condition would represent a tragic loss by the many for the benefit of the few. This would no longer be the America we love, with equal advantages for all. To avoid this, the question of just where private enterprise and government management should meet must be determined in the full light of intelligent public discussion, with all the people made fully aware of their interest in the matter.

Perhaps, at this time, we should affirm our belief in the private-enterprise system; and yet pause long enough to realize the existence of some values so important to all that they can best be held on a community basis for the benefit of all. This seems to be true of most of the remainder of the public domain. And since States have usually proved themselves unfitted to carry out long-time and extensive land programs, such as will be needed to make the most of this domain, it seems fairly wise to keep it in the hands of the Federal Government in spite of protests that some States own too little of the area within their borders.

Under a dual system of private and public land, such as exists at present, the livestock industry has made its greatest gains. Likewise, conservation of game and other attractions for both the present and the future have improved. With continued scientific management, more grass and browse can be produced on public lands, so that more grazing permits can be given out to thousands of Western farmers, who can profitably extend their livestock holdings as soon as they can get the privilege of summer ranges. Along with this development, business and mining, where they touch the public domain, should be treated fairly and impartially; but the rights of the vast body of American citizens, whose inheritance it is, must not be forgotten.

Literature & Art

Great books—III: *Thucydides*

Edwin A. Quain

No movement in the history of Greece ever stirred the world as did the Peloponnesian War, the struggle between Athens and Sparta for the leadership of the Aegean world. For twenty-seven years at the close of the fifth century, B.C., these two Powers reached the climax of the rivalry that had existed since they had both risen above the welter of independent City States which composed the political structure of the ancient world. Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote its history, since he realized from its beginning that this war was to be a greater event than any that had taken place in all former ages.

Nine chapters of this masterly work have been chosen as a "Great Book," and the selections, while a minuscule part of the whole, do touch upon the essential features of the work and the story of the war. The first is a portion of "The Archaeology," wherein Thucydides looks into the remote past to set the stage for the conflict and to adumbrate the key principles of his history. The second is the incident at Plataea which caused the outbreak of the war in 431. The third tells of the situation at Sparta that led to the abortive Peace of Nicias in 421, the turning point of the dramatic structure of the whole work. This is followed by the speech of Alcibiades which persuaded Athens to embark on the disastrous Sicilian Expedition in 416, and the last is a detail of the Revolt of the Allies in 412 that marked the downfall of the Athenian empire. The brevity of the selections suggests that they are intended merely to point the way to a more extended reading of the history. Therefore the following remarks will tend to clarify their contexts and to link them together into an orderly picture of the high points of the progress of the war.

Out of the struggle of the Persian wars, which ended with Thermopylae and Salamis and broke the domination of the Barbarian over the Hellenic world, Athens arose as the only naval power of the times. To consolidate the gains of freedom from the Persians, there was formed a voluntary confederacy of Delos in 478. The members, besides Athens, were the City States on the west coast of Asia Minor, the Aegean Sea and the eastern shores of Greece. Graduated tributes were to be paid by all for the expenses of the league into the treasury established on the sacred island of Delos, but Athens had full control from the beginning, as the collectors were all Athenian officers. The virtues of this unification were great for the tributary states but greater for Athens, which effectively

had under its control a vast fleet for use in war. In 454 the mask of equality was dropped when the treasury was moved to Athens and the members became virtually subject-states. Thus was born the Athenian empire.

Originally the right of secession was enjoyed by all members, as the notion of empire was contrary to the essential of Greek political thought, namely that each state was an independent unit. This defiance of Greek political morality rankled in the breasts of freedom-loving men and, when the Thirty Years Peace between Athens and Sparta was broken at its mid-point, the rest of Greece took sides. From that moment, the Athenian empire was doomed.

The opening chapters of the history contain the remarks of Thucydides on the legendary beginnings of Greek history. The whole of "The Archaeology" makes three points, only the first of which is suggested for discussion in this "Great Book."

1. Settled life and material progress become possible only through political unification and forcible control by some central authority. Thus the nomadic life of the early Hellenes was not conducive to the formation of stable cities; and it was only when Athens, having poor soil and hence being undesirable and uninvaded, grew in population and prestige that progress and power could be achieved. This is Thucydides' first principle: the significance of power in the history of civilization.

2. The significance of naval power in the history of Greece: the state with the most powerful navy would inevitably rule Greece and, since large navies demanded large crews, there is a connection between naval supremacy and democracy; in fact, Themistocles and Pericles, both navy-minded, were leaders of the Popular Party.

3. The importance of stable government: Sparta was strong because of the rigid framework of her institutions, while Athens was weakened by the looser democratic structure of the state. Nevertheless, as a land-power, Sparta was outmoded, and the logic of Greek history demanded that the vigor and self-confidence of Athenian freedom should have made her the mistress of the Greek world. Athens failed to hold the mastery because Athenian politicians were false to the principles of Pericles.

The immediate spark that started the conflagration was a minor dispute between Plataea and Thebes. Theban prisoners, taken after a "sneak attack" on Plataea, were summarily murdered in spite of, according to Thebes, the Plataean oath that they would be returned unharmed. Athens came to the aid of its ally Plataea, which denied there had ever been any oath. Greece reached a fever-pitch of excitement at the prospect of a death struggle between its two most powerful cities; contradictory oracles were received from the gods and an earthquake at Delos was taken to be vastly significant. The general opinion of Hellas was favorable to Sparta, which ap-

peared as the champion of liberty against the tyrannical domination of Athens. The war continued for nine years, with Athens scoring victories in which its fleet could give it dominance, and Sparta hacking away at the land side of the Athenian allies. The second year of the war had seen the disastrous plague in which thousands died in an over-crowded Athens.

At this time the success of the enterprising Brasidas, the most un-Spartan of Spartan generals, had the Athenians in a state of utter discouragement; and they were all too eager to listen to the pleadings of the Peace Party of Nicias, although Athens was in no position to sue for favorable terms. At Sparta, too, weariness of war and a feeling that their successes would win them advantageous concessions from Athens caused the government to move in the same direction. Besides, Pleistoanax, the king who had been lately restored from exile, was worried by persistent rumors that his recall had been managed by bribing the priestess of the Oracle at Delphi, and he believed he could quash such charges forever if he negotiated a successful peace.

A truce of a year was arranged and was kept, except in Thrace; at Amphipolis was fought a battle which resulted in victory for Sparta but in the death of Brasidas, and of Cleon, the strongest opponent of peace in the Athenian Assembly. Sparta had no one who could carry on the gains of Brasidas, and Nicias was prepared to sacrifice the empire of Athens for the sake of peace. The temper of the people demanded an end to war and, since Athens fought with a completely citizen army, democratic opinion was triumphant.

The peace was not accepted by some of the most potent allies of Sparta, and a subsequent change in the political leadership in both states boded ill for its duration. Hardly a year passed before Athens joined Argos in an expedition against Epidaurus; Sparta hastened to the aid of its ally, and Athens declared that Sparta had broken the peace. The most powerful advocate of war at Athens was Alcibiades, a young man of brilliant intellect (he had been an associate of Socrates), noble birth and not a shred of morality. He was loved and followed, or feared and courted, by the varying factions in Athens; as a relative of Pericles he had been trained for statecraft, but the defects of his unstable character produced merely an unscrupulous politician; he was a man involved in democratic processes without the slightest respect for democracy, and he became the evil genius which was to destroy Athens.

Alcibiades was the main influence in the decision of Athens to send an expedition to Syracuse, and his speech to that end is the fourth of the sections of this "Great Book." Nicias had spoken against any overseas expansion at a time when things at home were in none too safe a state. As a moderate, he was promptly labeled "reactionary" by the young and impetuous radicals, led by Alcibiades. His call to caution served only to inflame the enthusiasm of the imperialists and, when he tried to frighten them with an analysis of the magnitude of the men and supplies needed, they gladly voted an even larger subsidy.

Moderation was defeated the moment Alcibiades rose to address the Assembly. His speech is a marvel of sophistry in which he plays, with half-truths, on the vanity and complacency of the Athenians. Sicily, he assured them, would be an easy prey to Athenian might and, as Athens owed all her greatness to a policy of expansion, she must now continue or forever be false to her destiny, and the slaves of some other conqueror. It was a case of a dominant personality against a hesitant weakling, and democracy always loves an adventurous gambler. And, as if Athens were proving the saying "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad," the control of the expedition was entrusted to Alcibiades, who soon went over to Sparta and to Nicias, who believed the whole idea to be utter folly.

Never before had so magnificent or so costly an armament been sent out by any Hellenic power and never was there to be so complete a disaster. Treachery, military and naval ineptitude, carelessness and extremely bad luck—all contributed to the catastrophe that spelled the end of Athenian power. Pericles had died in the third year of the war but, before his death, he had warned the Athenians that if they were patient and never sought to enlarge their dominion while war was going on, they would be victorious. Nothing could have been so thoroughly contrary to Periclean policy as the mad dream of empire beyond the seas that was the Sicilian Expedition.



The war dragged on for another ten years, but Athens was never again the mighty power she had been. If this was not perceived at home, the truth was seen by the leaders of some of the Ionian allies of Athens and it is with this, the beginning of the revolt of the members of the collapsing Confederacy of Delos, that the last selection deals. At the urging of Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of Sardis, the revolt began at Chios and was soon followed by other island and coastal states. Sparta made a treaty with Persia, handing over to it the Greek states of the Ionian coast, and Persia was to support the Spartan navy for the duration of the war. It was an end and a beginning: from now on, the Persian king was to be the arbiter of the affairs of Greece.

If we take our cue from Thucydides, who believed that history would repeat itself in future ages, profitable discussion of the Peloponnesian War must naturally focus on the following ideas:

1. Political power as an impetus to progress and material progress as the matrix of power.
2. The influence of personal feuds and party differences on the determination of democratic decisions.
3. National pride and complacency.
4. The danger of deterioration of voluntary union into involuntary servitude.
5. The precarious stability of an empire based on force.

Books

Memoirs in mid-stream

SPEAKING FRANKLY

By James F. Byrnes. Harper. 324p. \$3.50

A month before the second London Council of Foreign Ministers, former Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, throws the evidence of his experiences into the scale. In the old days a Foreign Minister would wait until his declining years before telling his personal story; and sometimes these memoirs would not be published until all contemporary characters, including the diarist himself, had departed this earth and the issues concerned had been put away into the dead file. "Jimmy" Byrnes doesn't believe in that tradition. To him the public is entitled to know, right now while the knowledge is useful, what went on behind the scenes at critical stages. He has taken part in nine international conferences of the big and little Powers, traveling 77,000 miles for this purpose in two years' time. At some of these he made his own stenographic notes, which he produces in this book; at every stage he was either a trusted and close adviser or a chief protagonist.

The reader will brush through the apologia that is implicit but really minor throughout the book. This is no confession of the mistakes of Secretary Byrnes. If anything, it is a defense of the policies of President Roosevelt. For instance, the writer exculpates the late President from having sanctioned the idea of pastoralizing Germany, although somehow or other the President and Mr. Churchill both initialed this policy at Quebec. The writer says it is a mystery, and just lets it go at that.

He also makes public some interchanges between Roosevelt and Stalin which tend to show that relations between the two had begun to deteriorate even in the brief interval between Yalta and the President's death. A few days after the President's optimistic report to both houses of Congress, he received word of fresh difficulties over the interpretation of the supposed agreement on Poland. And on April 1, reports Mr. Byrnes, Roosevelt sent to Stalin a communication stating he could not conceal "the concern with which I view the development of events since Yalta." It is clear that Mr. Henry Wallace, whose exit from the

White House inner circle is described by the survivor of the conflict in this book, is not going to get away with the legend that all our troubles with Russia began only when Roosevelt died.

"Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me." The Indian quoted by the former Secretary of State was not speaking of Molotov, but Byrnes is speaking of him throughout most of this account. He admits that he had met many men in his life and had many experiences in dealing with men; but none of these had prepared him to deal with V. M. Molotov. "If you have one stubborn juror, all you can expect is a mistrial," he told one correspondent at the end of the London fiasco in the fall of 1945. It is only when the Soviet Foreign Minister is convinced he can squeeze no further concessions that the log jam begins to break. In the last days of the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York at the end of 1946, the author told the Yugoslav ambassador that the demands of Molotov made the continuation of the *status quo* the more attractive alternative. It was at this juncture that the Soviet representative finally started to give in, and handsomely, if much too late.

The former Secretary is firmly convinced that the Soviet Union wishes to prolong the making of peace for both Austria and Germany. Unless forced to do otherwise by pressure of world opinion, the Soviets will continue to drain off the resources of these countries and continue their efforts to establish themselves permanently in these regions. At the moment, in his opinion, two major demands are still in the minds of the Soviets: the ten-billion-dollar reparations; four-power control of the Ruhr. As for the reparations, these will not be granted so long as the Potsdam agreement on economic unity remains unfulfilled; and none of the Western Allies gives a second thought to admitting Russia to a say in the administration of the Ruhr. The exasperating frustrations of the Allied Control Council in Berlin are no recommendation for quadripartite control of the Ruhr.

Generalissimo Stalin comes off easy with the author. The Soviet chief has a sense of humor and is much easier to talk to than his subordinate in the foreign ministry. Although it is clear in the book that it is Stalin who is boss of both Molotov and the Politburo—and to that extent chiefly responsible for the policies against which the book is directed—it must be that

Mr. Byrnes doesn't quite feel it serves a good purpose to point the finger too severely in the direction of the Generalissimo. Incidentally, Mr. Byrnes adverts to the oft-repeated story that at Yalta the Soviet chief asked: "How many divisions has the Pope?" According to the author, Stalin did not say that at Yalta, but it certainly represents his mode of thinking. The Russian leader is on the side of the big battalions.

It can be predicted that this book will strengthen the hands of our negotiators in the forthcoming conferences on treaties for Austria and Germany. It was certainly written with that aim in view. The humor and anecdote sprinkled throughout will be a good sauce for what in old times was considered a heavy portion. But Mr. Byrnes has set out on the idea that foreign policy is everybody's business. If this hasn't been true thus far, books like this one will soon make it so.

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

Love survives catastrophe

WHEN THE MOUNTAIN FELL

By C-F. Ramuz. Pantheon. 221p. \$2.50

Not to quarrel about categories, but I find myself unable to go along with all the ads and reviews which refer to this admirable little book as an "epic." It is rather an idyll, but not for that reason less impressive. It does not rise to epic stature because (among other factors) there are no towering characters in it; in fact, there are hardly any characters at all. The humans are shadowy and typical; the real "characters" are love and the cataclysmic forces of nature.

Starting with the simple statement, read in an old chronicle, that "a shepherd, missing, and presumed dead, spent several months buried in his cabin, living on bread and cheese," the author weaves a fascinating tale, shot through with simple faith, of a landslide that buried a band of herdsmen who had taken their flocks to the high mountain pastures, and the reactions of the villagers to the catastrophe and to the return of the sole survivor after seven weeks of creeping through the subterranean tunnels formed by the fallen mountain.

When the wraith-like figure crept back to his native village and to his young and pregnant wife, native superstition feared that he might be a ghost. He himself, even after his flesh-and-blood reality was established, was

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mazed in mind and kept thinking that another shepherd still survived under the mountainous debris and was calling to him for help. He wanders off, apparently this time to be lost finally, but his wife will not leave him to his hallucinations. She follows him into the wasteland, and the book ends with them returning together.

The story is beautifully and even poetically told. There is an economy of language and a sensitiveness of description admirably suited to the mood. The brooding majesty of the mountains dominates the story, or would, were not the theme of tenacious love so quietly triumphant in the end. And the aura of reverie is sharpened by the implicit statement of the ever-current fact of the dogged persistence of human nature to rise above defeat.

Here is an unusual and satisfying book, written with an integrity that will not make a single smallest bow to cheapness or sensationalism. It is well worth studying in contrast to the clinical realism with which such a simple tale would undoubtedly have been padded at the hands of many American novelists. HAROLD C. GARDINER

History's lessons for today

NICANOR OF ATHENS. The Autobiography of an Unknown Citizen

By O. F. Grazebrook. Macmillan. 359p. \$3

This summer saw the announcement of the excavations in the Agora, the central public square of Athens, which brought to light relics of the civilization of 2,500 years ago. Among them were bits of pottery, *ostraka*, on which the Athenians scratched the names of citizens they wished to exile. None was found which bore the name of Nicanor, but well one might have. For the author of this book has given life and vigor to the personality of an imaginary Athenian who lived during the period of the Peloponnesian War, when the glorious empire of Pericles crumbled before the might of Sparta and the military and political ineptitude of a democracy that had seen its best days.

It is striking, in view of the current interest in the "Great Books," that the author, Chairman of the Board of a British iron foundry, has produced this admirable book as the result of his readings, none of them in the original Greek. "The raw materials of my book are the cold, lucid pages of Thucydides, who owned gold mines and wrote his

tory; the pamphlets of Plato, who was a humanist, which is commonplace enough, but who has a charm which is unique; the plays of Aristophanes, which are inspired with that prophetic instinct of the Comic Muse; and last, the turgid pages of the egregious Xenophon."

The calm accuracy of these judgments is mirrored in the thoughts and musings of his hero, Nicanor. Son of a merchant who made money on the war with Sparta, Nicanor was an eye-witness of the catastrophe of Syracuse when the mightiest fleet and army that the ancient world had ever mustered were completely destroyed. The final defeat at Aigospotamoi was but the sequel to the ill-advised and disastrous Sicilian Expedition, and opened the way for the chaos that followed. The foremost democracy of Greece became an oligarchy of murderers and informers.

The book was written during the late war, and the analogies between the far-flung empire of Athens and the author's country are too numerous to mention. Seldom have the lessons of history been brought to bear so tellingly on the problems of modern times. The patriotic hopes and subsequent despair of Athenians as portrayed in Nicanor make a moving picture of the feelings of a "common man" in one of the crises of world history. "Great books" addicts might well join this volume to Warde Fowler's *City State of the Greeks and Romans* for the best introduction to the political history of the ancient world.

EDWIN A. QUAIN

THE BRIGHT PROMISE

By Richard Sherman. Little, Brown. 373p. \$2.75

It is perhaps unfair to judge a book by its greatness today, for modern literature seems little concerned with things great. An idle tale, a broken moment is sufficient and, as long as our life-routine is interrupted, we are satisfied. It is enough to tell a good story. Yet, in demanding little, we have received less. Our standards have fallen, and our willingness to accept the novel without purpose has made us used to the novel without direction.

The Bright Promise is neither worse nor better than a hundred books of its kind published this year, but it is being hailed as a "moving personal experience," as the "fulfillment" of the author's talent. A serial version has already appeared in *Good Housekeep-*

ing magazine and, besides being the Literary Guild selection for September, it will be produced as a movie by Twentieth Century-Fox. Thus, by being translated into three different mediums, it will reach a public far greater than it merits. It is an ordinary story about ordinary people, in which there is sometimes a glimpse of style but never of conviction, and in which the characters occasionally exhibit personality but seldom much integrity.

The plot replaces conflict with a political and emotional obstacle course, and savors of a rather plebeian *deus ex machina*, which becomes more maudlin as the novel progresses. The hero and heroine, whose decision to marry is considerably tardy, are about to call the ceremony off because it coincides with the bank holiday of 1933, when someone happens to turn on the radio. At this historic moment the President is just uttering his famous words, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," whereupon the hero and heroine plunge into what is left of matrimony, and shift the story into a struggle with the Roosevelt era. The author, who professes to be an admirer of Roosevelt, never quite makes his point, and finally, as though in desperation, invents a child to be inflicted with infantile paralysis, leaving the reader with the impression that Roosevelt was decidedly more successful as a man than as a President. The most that can be said for the plot is that it is on the level of the fifteen-minute radio serial, and would make excellent accompaniment

for housewives in doing their ironing.

Richard Sherman has written his book in the first person of a young woman, and he sustains this very well. The viewpoint is a woman's viewpoint, and the thoughts are a woman's thoughts. The style, particularly in the introduction to each chapter, approaches the wistful symbolism of Virginia Woolf. But it is not a great book, it is not an exemplary book of American life—and it is being hailed as both. How much longer will we allow our taste to be ridiculed?

LORRAINE O'BRIEN

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

By Chun-chan Yeh. Putnam. 248p. \$2.75

To the jaded American novel-reader, this tale of exotic landscapes and picturesque characters with quaint names brings something fresh and charming. From the opening pages, he finds himself there in imagination, under the stars, above the ever-flowing river, with the throng of villagers, entranced by the throbbing drums of the village storyteller assembling his evening audience.

It is only after these faraway Chinese villagers have captured his interest entirely that the reader suddenly realizes these people are not alien. Their doings, their problems, their feelings are familiar as those of people in a New Hampshire village or an Alabama hamlet.

The action covers the civil war years, 1920-30, but the author portrays the

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turmoil, the impact on an isolated community of world unrest, with never a label or an ideological noun or verb. The reader soon begins to identify American types in the simple Chinese folk: the capitalist, farmer, laborer; the swaggering militarist and the unhappy draftee; the lawless criminal and the social-minded reformer; fascist, communist and the middle-of-the-road bystander who gets bewildered trying to keep in step.

All the diverse beads of characters, incident, crises are strung smoothly on one thread in the personality of the book's heroine, who is never given a name. As "my mother," she moves through all the scenes, supplying the unifying thread of compassion, understanding, practical action, patient endurance. She can never turn anyone from her door, whether it be O Ran, the baby orphan with smallpox; Uncle Pan, refugee from the Yellow River floods; the hunted young communist organizer; or the bandit in disguise.

She listens to the secrets of all hearts—and has one invariable response: poor thing, you must have some tea, I'll get you a bowl of noodles—and then we'll see what to do. She has no name; throughout the story, her title is "my mother." When the reader finishes the book, that is what he wants to call her, too.

The young Chinese author of *Mountain Village* was born in just such an isolated village of Central China thirty years ago. Since then, he has fled from civil war to Japan for education; returned to China to fight for his country, working up to the rank of major. Since 1944 he has been in England as translator and lecturer for the Ministry of Information. His English style is clear, direct, vivid; his understanding of human nature wide and keen.

DOROTHY G. WAYMAN

HARRY TRUMAN: A Political Biography

By William P. Helm. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 241p. \$3

There are doubtless many Americans who would like to know more about President Truman, to a certain degree with respect to his personal characteristics, but more so as regards his political philosophy, his views as to the role of government in modern society. The book here under review, while it does offer some new light in this direction, can hardly be described as either penetrating or definitive. Its author has been for some years the Washington

correspondent of the *Kansas City Journal*. His acquaintance with Mr. Truman began upon the latter's first election to the United States Senate in 1934. As he reports, during the next ten years a close personal attachment developed between himself and the fledgling Senator from Missouri. It is these ten years that are covered in Helm's book. There is nothing concerning the earlier career of Harry Truman, and the narrative terminates at the point of his elevation to the Presidency, except for a brief explanation of the "resignation" of Wallace and Morgenthau from Truman's Cabinet.

Harry Truman is introduced as a warm-hearted, friendly, likable fellow with a lot of common sense hidden under an overpowering inferiority complex. As he acquired fuller experience, according to Mr. Helm, he lost some of his self-deprecation. When he became President, "he had to part with what remained." The book offers a good, careful report of Truman's record as U. S. Senator. Though consistently New Deal in his voting, even on such issues as the Court Reorganization Plan of 1937 and the Executive Reorganization Plan of 1938, Mr. Truman very rarely expressed his political principles in debate. When he did, his expressions did not always appear to be in harmony with his votes. For example, though he occasionally castigated the Government's free spenders in debate, his votes were pro-Administration.

In one respect, however, Mr. Truman did display consistency throughout his Senatorial career; this was in his Jeffersonian hostility to bigness. As he expressed it himself, "a thousand county-seat towns of 7,000 people are a thousand times more important to this Republic than one city of 7,000,000." With this attitude, Truman made an excellent record as Chairman of the Senate Defense Investigating Committee, finding much to criticize both in the activities of Big Business and Big Labor.

Mr. Helm's book is not entirely free of error. Forrest Donnell was not Truman's opponent for the United States Senate in the election of 1940. Instead, Mr. Donnell was the Republican candidate for Governor of Missouri in that year and, after the famous governorship "steal" attempt, served the next four years in Jefferson City. Neither is the book entirely free of bias, which seems to be indicated in describing the slogan "for the national defense" as

four little weasel words, and in characterizing the Brownlow Report of 1938 as a Roosevelt attempt to fix his supremacy over Congress. But it is an interestingly written book; it offers many valuable insights into the operation of the Senate, and it does give a fair analysis of the Truman character. With these merits, it may well achieve a wide reading.

PAUL G. STEINBICKER

The Word

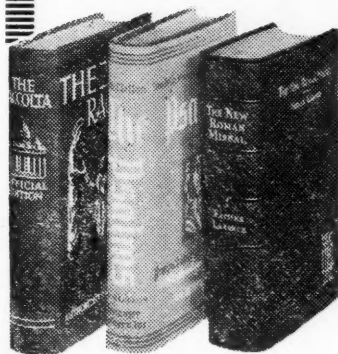
INDISSOLUBLY ASSOCIATED WITH the idea of kingliness is the notion of aloofness. The king is a man unique, hedged about with protocol, above and apart from the throng, enthroned in solitary splendor, outlined in regal ermine. All the more striking therefore is the accessibility of the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, whose absolute sovereignty we salute this Sunday.

This is vividly evident in the first description of His Kingdom, sketched on the Mount of Beatitudes; and St. Paul contrasts that scene with Sinai. In the revelation of the Old Law God was hidden in rolling thunders; Moses, "terrified and trembling," was the mediator; the commandments were inscribed on tablets of stone and were so phrased as to emphasize rather the penalty of disobedience than the reward of compliance. On the Mount of Beatitudes Christ Himself, God and Man, was Mediator; He sat in simple proximity to the pressing throngs, announcing His law which would be engraved "in the fleshly tables of the heart" (2 Cor. 3:3). Sinai is loud with the minatory phrase "Thou shalt not"; but the first word from the lips of the new Lawgiver is "Blessed" (Heb. 12:18-24). All through His life, Christ was readily approachable, from the night when shepherds knelt in adoration until the black afternoon when the repentant thief implored mercy. All through the ages He has remained within easy reach; in His sacrament, His tabernacles, in the souls of the just. He is not far from everyone of us (Acts 17:27).

Correlative to the idea of king is that of queen. We cannot long meditate on the King of Heaven and earth without recalling her whom He so breathlessly exalted to be His consort, especially in this, her month of October. And here again we find the accessibility of the

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King re-emphasized, for Mary is not only Queen and Mother, but Mediatrix as well.

In the Old Testament, we read that Adonai, desiring to obtain a favor from King Solomon and being humbly hesitant to face the regal presence, went to Bethsabee, the king's mother, and enlisted her aid. She agreed to present the petition to her royal son, who received her with every mark of affectionate reverence and enthroned her "on his right hand." When he heard the nature of her errand, "the king said to her: My mother, ask: for I must not turn away thy face" (3 Kings 2:13-20). In the office of Mary's Mediation, the Church puts into her Son's mouth those beautiful and filial words of Solomon. Cana shows us her influence, which is so great that it has been called "suppliant omnipotence."

"Let us venerate her from the depths of our hearts," cries Bernard, her great apostle, "and in all our prayers, for this is the desire of Him who wills that we receive everything through Mary." "From the moment she conceived the Word of God . . ." says Bernardine of Siena, "she obtained a certain jurisdiction, a sort of authority over every temporal possession of the Holy Spirit, to such an extent that we receive the grace of God only through Mary." Pius X declared: "Mary is the heavenly channel through which all graces descend to earth." Fifty-six years ago this October, Leo XIII wrote: "By reason of her consent to Divine Motherhood, we may with equal justice assert that . . . nothing is bestowed upon us except through

Mary," an opinion which Benedict XV ratified. Only ten years ago Pius XI was begging us to revive devotion to Mary's Rosary, as the remedy for the ills then threatening the world.

Turn your eyes and your soul to Christ the King and Mary, His Queen. Hanging on the Cross, beneath the inscription "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," He won redemption and salvation for us. But she who was standing beneath His Cross during those horrible hours is the stewardess and dispenser of His infinite riches. They are ours for the asking, the seeking (Luke 11:9), as we renew our fealty to the King, our filial love for the Queen on this feast of Christ the King.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

Theatre

COMMAND DECISION. Since I am a softy for any play about soldiers, it's an even chance that William Wister Haines' story of a general on the spot makes a stronger appeal to my emotions than to the feelings of theatregoers who are less impressed by a uniform. Brigadier General K. C. Dennis was operations officer in command of the Fifth Bombardment Division of the Air Force, based in England. Army intelligence had discovered the location of a factory that was ready to go into production of jet planes. Dennis knew that if the Nazis got those planes in the air the Allied air forces would be unable to cope with them, so he decided to knock them out while they were on the assembly lines. The factory happened to be beyond the range of fighter protection, which meant that a heavy loss of bombers and crews was inevitable, and the desk generals in Washington would conclude that he was either incompetent or reckless. With his reputation as a soldier on the line, he made the decision.

There is a minimum of physical action in Kermit Bloomgarden's production, presented in The Fulton, but never a second when Jo Mielziner's utilitarian set is not packed with emotion. General Dennis is apparently casual when he sends men out to die, but a fearful sense of responsibility burns under his olive-drab tunic. A job needs doing, and he does it, with a heart that bleeds for every flyer who does not return from his mission.

Paul Kelly interprets the role of

General Dennis with fine restraint, ignoring obvious opportunities to make the character sentimental and more appealing to the feminine trade. Jay Fasset is convincing as a two-star General with a penchant for passing the buck, and Paul McGrath is plausible as a general out on a limb who wishes he were somewhere else. John O'Shaughnessy's direction job is efficient.

MUSIC IN MY HEART, according to the playbill, is a romantic musical play with melodies of Tchaikovsky. It happens that the story, by Patsy Ruth Miller, is not too romantic, and the music would be as melodious in Carnegie Hall, without Ruth Page's ballets, as it is in the Adelphi. The costumes which are colorful and pleasing to the eye, and the settings which are not, were designed by Alvin Colt. Hassard Short directed, but probably will not mention it in his memoirs. Henry Duffy is the producer and chances are that he will be sorry.

Some of my friends insist that the music is not genuine aged-in-the-conservatory Tchaikovsky, but a synthetic product that lacks the flavor and bouquet of the original. I wouldn't know about that. All I know is that I like it. Perhaps my musical taste is hopelessly plebeian and I ought to be ashamed of it, but that's the way it is.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

GREEN DOLPHIN STREET. Never was a glamor girl faced with a more humiliating discovery than is Lana Turner in this lush costume drama. Having thought for the several years of her marriage that she had beaten her sweet younger sister in a fair fight for the affections of the man they both loved, she found that her husband had been drunk when he sent his formal proposal from across the world and had written the wrong sister's name; when she made the journey from the Channel Islands to New Zealand he had had no choice but to go through with the wedding. The outcome of this tangle, which suggests that happy marriage can be achieved without overpowering romantic love, and that the younger sister has found a rewarding life in a convent, is actually very sensible—a fact which is efficiently obscured by shallow and gooey, sentimental handling. For the benefit of the less romantically minded,

the film also deals briefly with clipper-ship management, lumbering and sheep-herding in New Zealand, an earthquake, a tidal wave and a Maori uprising. Donna Reed plays the sister, Richard Hart the absent-minded hero; and variously involved—mostly for the purpose of suffering unrequited love and/or expiring after lengthy death-bed scenes—are Van Heflin, Frank Morgan, Edmund Gwenn and Gladys Cooper. For what it is worth, this is directed to the family. (MGM)

THE UNSUSPECTED. The suspense in this opulent, adult thriller depends not

on finding out who the killer is—he is seen murdering his secretary in the opening sequence—but in pinning the crime on him before he eliminates the entire cast. There are two other deaths and two near misses before he is finally hoist by his own petard. The picture, though, rises or falls on the amount of credibility it gains for the title role—a universally respected citizen who can murder with impunity to cover up his systematic defrauding of his ward, because he is above suspicion as a murderer. Despite a carefully studied performance by Claude Rains, this character is too patently an unctuous scoun-

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drel to permit belief in his unassailable position. There is some excellent photography and—for a change—an intelligent and forceful police lieutenant, but even he cannot rescue the wild final chase to save the hero from being thrown into a burning garbage pit, from being ridiculous. (Warner Bros.)

GOLDEN EARRINGS. The main trouble with this tale of a British agent who escapes from the Nazis just before the war with the help of a band of Gypsies, is that it is a hodge-podge of various genres all pulling in different directions. When exploring the effects of a stuffy, ultra-conventional Englishman's contact with the amoral, earthy Gypsy philosophy, it is a generally amusing, occasionally ribald spoof of the more exaggerated customs of both primitive and civilized life. Marlene Dietrich, minus the usual glamor, is the dark-skinned, uninhibited Romany woman, who decides that the Englishman was sent by the good fairies to replace her deceased husband; while Ray Milland is the agent who tolerates her attentions only as far as necessary to keep in her good graces. Then the film switches back to the Nazis while Milland has another crack at getting a poison-gas formula, and this section is a blend of physical horror and Roverboys posturing ordinarily found in a third-rate spy thriller. In the closing sequences, which manage to be both incongruous and offensive, the hero suddenly decides that his Gypsy sweetheart is a great and noble woman, that Gypsy life is wonderful and that Gypsy superstition is the only sensible way of ensuring the future. (Paramount)

MOIRA WALSH

Parade

IF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGfellow were living today, something like the following scene might take place:

(TIME: The day is done, and the darkness falls from the wings of Night. PLACE: From his study Longfellow sees the lights of the village gleam through the rain and the mist, and a feeling of sadness comes o'er him that his soul cannot resist. The telephone rings):

Voice (on phone): Mr. Longfellow, this is Station TRZ. We had to can the poem scheduled for tonight's broadcast of the "Listen to the Poets" pro-

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gram. If you'll tell us the poem you'd like us to put on the air, we'll dedicate it to you.

Longfellow: Very well. Read me some simple and heartfelt lay, that shall soothe this restless feeling and banish the thoughts of day.

Station TRZ: Something from a big-name poet?

Longfellow: No. Not from the grand old masters, not from the bards sublime, whose distant footsteps echo through the corridors of Time.

Station TRZ: No? But why not?

Longfellow: Because, like strains of martial music, their mighty thoughts suggest life's endless toil and endeavor and tonight I long for rest.

Station TRZ: Oh, I see. Okay. A small-name poet, then?

Longfellow: Yes. Read from some humbler poet, whose song gushed from his heart, as tears from the eyelids start.

Station TRZ: I got it. A spontaneous type of small-name poet?

Longfellow: Yes. One who despite long days of labor and nights devoid of ease, still heard in his soul the music of wonderful melodies.

Station TRZ: You mean—good, sincere stuff.

Longfellow: That's right. Such songs have power to quiet the restless pulse of care, and come like the benediction that follows after prayer.

Station TRZ: I think you got something here. I really do.

Longfellow: Then read from the treasured volume the poem of your choice, and lend to the rhyme of the poet the beauty of your voice.

Station TRZ: Thanks, Mr. Longfellow. We'll dig up something choice. It'll be on the air in two hours.

Longfellow: Good. Then the night shall be filled with music, and the cares that infest the day shall fold their tents, like the Arabs, and as silently steal away. Before you go, I think I should mention this. That poem you had on the air last night carried the implication that life is but an empty dream.

Station TRZ: I'm sorry. It must have slipped through.

Longfellow: Tell your studio censors that life is real, life is earnest, and the grave is not its goal. "Dust thou art, to dust returnest," was not spoken of the soul.

Station TRZ: I'll send out a memorandum right away, reminding everybody those words were not spoken of the soul. Thanks, Mr. Longfellow. Goodbye.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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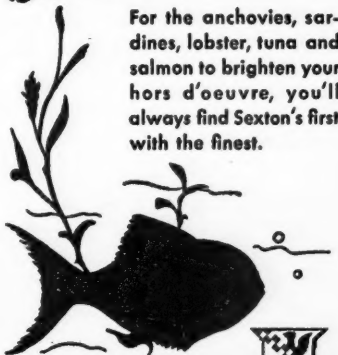
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Correspondence

For Catholic fellowships

EDITOR: Many months ago (AMERICA, Sept. 21, 1946) Helene Magaret proposed a plan to provide endowments for Catholic colleges and universities by receiving contributions of as small as ten cents from prospective, present and former college and university students. The fund so raised was to be established as a foundation, the income from which was to be used for the higher education of Catholic young men and women.

Because of the urgency of the need, I wonder if Dr. Magaret would accept an amendment to her plan. If so, I would suggest that the fund be raised as she proposed but, instead of being used to establish an endowment, that the money so secured be expended or committed for expenditure in the year in which it is raised. It would thus multiply its usefulness.

The annual collection for the Catholic University of America will be made in December. As part of such solicitation would it not be possible, as a start, to present this collection of small coins to the parochial schools as a project for that month; earmark the funds so raised for scholarships on a competitive basis in the Catholic University or a college or university nearer the home of the winner, and report back to the student contributors in such a way as to retain their continuing interest in higher education?

I enclose a donation of \$25.00 to help defray a part of the cost of testing and examining this idea, credit for which should go to Dr. Magaret, who first suggested it.

CLEMENT P. QUINN

Saginaw, Mich.

Paging Catholic hagiographers

EDITOR: It is indeed a pity that the English-speaking world knows practically nothing about Blessed Contardo Ferrini, whom Pius XII in his speech to Italian Catholic Action on Sept. 7 named as "the model of the present-day Catholic man." The *beatus* was a great professor of law in Italy; he died in 1902 at the age of forty-two. Pius X said that he would be "happy to canonize him as a model for university

professors." Ferrini was beatified last spring.

There exists only one brief and inadequate life of Blessed Contardo in English—by Bede Jarrett, O.P. Ferrini's legal works have been collected into five volumes, and the Vatican is issuing a special edition of his numerous spiritual books. There is therefore abundant material for a life of this great man whom the Church has proposed as the model for Catholic professional men and, more specifically, for Catholic lawyers. I would welcome communication from anyone who is interested in writing the life of this twentieth-century, newly-beatified university professor.

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.

Georgetown University
Washington, 7, D. C.

What Catholic economists need

EDITOR: I was delighted to see the article, "Needed: Catholic economists," (AMERICA, September 13) by Miss Doris Gannon Duffy. As a Catholic economist by virtue of having studied economics at Catholic University, and having worked in the Government, perhaps my observations may be of interest to you.

I don't recall ever being invited to take a course on the encyclicals during either my undergraduate or graduate studies. The only mention I heard of the Labor Encyclicals was during my last year as an undergraduate. The pre-occupation of the Economics Department was to give us an education similar to the ones given by other first-class schools. In this objective we studied the various schools of thought, and developments in economics.

The fact that the clergy dominate discussions of Catholic economic groups needs to be explained. There exists, due to the background of Catholicism in this country (I refer to the ignorance of the immigrant masses in early days, and the fact that only the clergy then possessed sufficient education), a marked tendency to identify Catholic Action with a movement to propagandize by Catholics on the basis of a mixed group of clergy and laity, the laity being the passive, the clergy the active element. This makes dis-

cussions sort of religious meetings presided over by the clergy. Excessive activity on the part of any layman is looked upon as similar to a layman interrupting a sermon. Any layman with originality soon learns to stay away or to remain silent while the clergy speak.

The only cure for this situation is to have both the clergy and laity recognize that the possession of knowledge of Christian principles by an individual does not qualify him to speak authoritatively on economic matters. A knowledge of economics would be helpful. If the clergy would realize that their greater service to the advancement of the ideals of the encyclicals is in the encouragement of laymen who have the training and the opportunity to do good, how much easier the task would be!

One last point needs to be stressed in order that the reluctance of the Catholic economist to advocate the encyclicals may be understood. I wonder how many well-meaning Catholics, clergy as well as laity, understand the vast indifference that exists to the advocacy of "sectarian" doctrines as a means of securing economic and social order in this country? Very few non-Catholic economists believe Catholic principles to be more than outmoded medieval concepts. There is far more interest in governmental control of business, on the one hand, and absolute *laissez-faire* on the other, as means of effectuating the economic order of this country. Discussions are of a so-called "scientific" nature, and talk is more about the latest modification of so-and-so's theory than social justice.

The first need is to overcome the vast inertia about morals in this country. Most educated non-Catholics are not immoral personally, but rather inclined to like to determine their morals for themselves or to accept the traditional attitudes they absorbed throughout their childhood, rather than bow to the "authoritarian" rule of Catholicism. In view of the indifference and fears of his non-Catholic colleagues, what is a Catholic economist to do? Is it any wonder he takes a back seat and listens to the more popular theories of non-Catholics in conferences? Remember also that these non-Catholic economists occupy positions of importance in this world, and even Catholics are inclined to listen to men in power rather than, for example, to a Catholic college professor of a small college, no matter how good his ideas may be.

STUART M. BLACK

Washington, D. C.

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